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THE

# HARTFORD SEMINARY RECORD

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## THE FACULTY

OF

## Hartford Theological Seminary

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PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

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**VOLUME XV**

NOVEMBER, 1904, TO AUGUST, 1905.

69148
BX
8/4/06

Hartford Seminary Press
HARTFORD, CONN.
1905

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THE

# HARTFORD SEMINARY RECORD

VOL. XV. NO. 1 — NOVEMBER, 1904

[Entered at the Hartford Post Office as Second Class Matter.]

Published quarterly on the 1st of November, February, May, and August. Subscription price, $1.00 per year, in advance. Single copies, 30 cents. Remit to order of HARTFORD SEMINARY PRESS, Hosmer Hall, Hartford, Conn.

EDITORIAL BOARD: — Professor Arthur Lincoln Gillett, Professor Waldo Selden Pratt, Professor Charles Snow Thayer. *Associate Editor:* — Stephen van Rensselaer Trowbridge. *Business Manager:* — Daniel Rolfe Kennedy, Jr.

The fall number of the RECORD, always appearing somewhat tardily, is delayed longer than usual by the absence of members of the Seminary Faculty, at the meeting of the National Council. The editors are disposed to plead the excuse of Charles Lamb when rebuked for appearing at business late in the morning: "You must at least confess that I am the first to leave at night"; and would remind its readers that the August issue came out about the first of July.

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Even though delayed, its contents will be welcomed. The recent presidential election has certainly done nothing to dwarf the significance of the negro problem as a factor in our national life. It will be difficult to find a saner, more balanced discussion of it than that given by Professor Mitchell of Richmond College, Va. He holds the office of President of the Coöperative Education Commission of Virginia, and brings both a sympathetic spirit and a specialized knowledge to his study.

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Certainly no apology is necessary for bringing to the attention of a wider public the papers of President Mackenzie and Dr. Barton before they are immured in the honorable seclusion

of the Minutes of the National Council. Secretary Barton's paper touches on questions that have been so widely discussed that it has been frequently noticed in the daily press; but it deserves presentation in complete form.

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These two papers reflect not inaptly the two peculiar phases of the individuality of this National Council — one treating with a touch of spiritual passion the glorious absoluteness of the Christian faith, and the other handling with tempered judgment a significant question in ecclesiastical policy. That this Council should have blended these two characteristics in such a notable degree is a very striking fact. It was a notable Congregational assemblage. It manifested the self-consciousness of the denomination at its best. It made it clear that the denomination was determined to realize its high calling to achieve the best things. There was evident a wholesome purpose to get together in the best way to accomplish results for the kingdom of God, regardless of cragged traditionalism or fuzzy idealism. The sane desire to do unitedly the best things to meet current conditions was dominant.

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It was this spirit of practical serviceableness that pitched the key of its pervasive evangelistic spirit. It may not be altogether amiss for the ministry of today to meditate on the profound truth which is caricatured in the phrase, "Willingness to be damned for the glory of God." As the hearts of the ministry go out in ardent desire for the manifestation of the Spirit, is the thought uppermost: those empty pews there, this diminishing popular esteem of the church, that lifeless prayer-meeting, and the effect on all these that would be wrought by a revival season? Or is the yearning toward souls unsaved, lives untouched by the blessedness of Christ's presence in the heart? Is the revival craved for the sake of the church, or is the church conceived of as a means for a revival? Is Christ for the church, or is the church for Christ? Why, with what motives, do we stretch upward hands of prayer, and strive to push open the windows of heaven? A season of revival is a season of heart searching.

# THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF THE WORLD.

The topic assigned for our consideration at this hour is large enough to perplex those who have been charged with its discussion. We might treat the matter technically, by describing the progress of Christianity in the past, by unfolding some of the history which it has made, the problems it has faced, its limitations and vagaries, its failure and its success. Or we might take a bird's-eye view of its position today in the world, its marvelous presence in all parts of the world, its influence among the nations of the earth over moral life, over national institutions and policies, and its grasp upon the minds of the noblest thinkers, the students of nature and of man everywhere. We might even be tempted to become prophetic and peer through the veil of the future into the task and the hope of the Christian Church, wondering how and when the final conquest shall be made and the kingdoms of the world be truly and fully brought under the dominion of our Lord and His Christ. That would involve some investigation of what we mean by the very words before us, the Christianization of the world.

All these tempting aspects of our great and even unlimited subject I must lay aside. We are here because Christianity has done so much. We are here because we believe that the Christianization of the world is no absurd and fanatical dream. We believe that somehow the world is to be Christianized. Without entering upon certain difficult and perhaps insoluble problems, we hold that the Christian faith is destined to become the one universal form of positive religion, and that the nations are to be brought under the power of the Christian spirit; their laws are to be cleansed, their institutions are to be reorganized by the ethics of the gospel of Christ. Now the one fact which stands

An address given before the National Congregational Council, at Des Moines, Ia., Oct. 20, 1904.

above all others just now, and the one which I propose to discuss is this: that the Christianization of the world is inevitable.

We gathered last week at Grinnell to discuss foreign missions; we are here at the National Council of Congregational Churches because we believe that our faith is destined — destined of God Himself — to spread through the entire human race. The predestination of God is irresistible. The supreme end of God is inevitable.

This, then, is the faith which we hold, and which has made the history of the church of Christ possible: that Christianity can and must and will cover and conquer the world. When we examine that idea more closely we find that it involves two great assertions. The first is that the Christian religion in its very nature is adapted to confer upon the whole race the supreme blessings of religion; and the second is that the Christian religion is able to propagate itself universally by acting through the lives and witness of its children. Both of these assertions are necessary to a complete view of the magnificent assurance which we contemplate. Unless the religion is in its nature universalistic, that is, fitted to do for all men what the absolute religion alone can do, then in vain is all our enthusiasm, in vain all our prayer and toil. On the other hand, if the religion fails to arouse the passion for its own extension, if it is powerless to quicken those feelings and thoughts out of which the enthusiasm and devotion of missions spring, then equally in vain are its claims to be the absolute religion, the supreme gift of God to the human race upon this earth of ours. The Christianization of the world is only possible if Christianity is the absolute or final religion, and if it can arouse the passion for its own extension in the hearts of its believers.

## I.

To begin with, we must ask ourselves what we mean by an absolute or final religion. For we must reckon with the fact that some will accuse us of arrogance if we insist that a final and universal religion is possible. Who are we, they will urge, to lay down the programme for the ages and to assert that we know what man is to believe and to experience even until time ends

and the eternal world is unfolded to our view? As a matter of fact, there are many facts which we know absolutely and which we know can never change. That two and two make four; that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points; that every event must have its causal origin and its own end; that the earth moves on its own axis and also around the sun; that duty is absolute; that justice is duty; these and many other principles which no sane and no honorable man will question, — these are final truths for reason and from experience, out of which the substance of our social life is fashioned. The ages of human history can use these, can study to understand them, can watch their universal influences over the making of mankind; but those ages can never obliterate them from human reason nor rear the structure of truth and goodness without them.

So with the idea of a final and universal religion. It does not imply that progress is impossible, that no more light is to be gained concerning God and man. But it does assert that further progress is to be permanently conditioned to the end of time by the central features of the Christian faith. Henceforth all growth in the love and worship of God, all growth in the purity and strength of human character, all growth in the apprehension of all truth, must be grounded as really and as fully upon the gospel of Christ as upon the categories of reason or the laws of the physical universe. That is what we mean by the final religion.

Let me try to illustrate this by describing briefly certain elements in the Christian faith which have the nature of absoluteness or finality. There are many of them, and several have been deliberately discussed in the New Testament itself, where the problem was raised, as it was more than once, in the apostolic church.

In the first place, the Christian faith arose and is maintained through the conviction that God entered into union with the human race in the person of Jesus Christ. I am not concerned now with definitions of that Person, nor with discussions about the manner in which that union was consummated. The one fact before us is that, according to the New Testament, God spoke to humanity, not in a prophet nor in a priest, whose origin and conditions of life were like those of ancient prophets or priests,

taken from among men. God has spoken to us in one whose nature is that of "a Son." All His earthly story is enriched, interpreted, and glorified by His unique relation to God and to the race. He comes burdened with eternal powers and makes them gifts to us. Now this faith of Christendom in the Incarnation means that no higher form of connection between God and man in time is conceivable. This person of Christ conditions the development of the race in its knowledge of God and in its union with God. I do not mean that it is of such a nature as to force our reason like an axiom of mathematics. I do not mean that all men who accept it are bound to define it in the same terms. It is an object of faith, an historical fact, an act of God so grand, so rich in content, so charged with moral and spiritual significance, that it must be viewed with divided interest by different minds. But I do say that it belongs to the very essence of the Christian religion, and that for those who so accept it, the Incarnation of the Son of God is one of those facts which we must call final. Henceforth history moves upon that as a door upon its hinges. Henceforth God and man are related to one another for all Christian thought and conduct, for all the processes of the divine life in man, through the Eternal Person, Jesus Christ. He is the same yesterday, today, and forevermore.

In the second place let me name the revelation in Christ of the supreme standards of holiness and love. No one who has an eye for the spiritual universe will deny that these words cover the highest conceivable elements of human life. As personality is supreme over all other forms of reality, so the supreme qualities of a personal being are holiness and love. It is a good thing to be wise, and a good thing to be strong; but wisdom and strength can themselves be devastated by sin and hate. They, to reach their full meaning and value, must be saturated by that without which nothing matters, unto which all the universe bows in reverence and admiration, — the spirit of holiness and of love. Now the world has labored long to discover the supreme laws of human action. Slowly in ancient times they felt their way, and brilliant were some of those flashes which fell upon their minds of that which is right and good. But in vain we look among their religionists, their poets, their philosophers, for any

clue to the absolute nature of righteousness or the eternal glory of love. Christ made a new world. When men had seen and known and handled Him, the Word of Life; when, after the deed of God upon the cross and after the deed of God on the resurrection morning, they received His Spirit; when human eyes looked out upon life from the new day which He had created, to them the heart of holiness and of love, the heart of God, stood revealed. The Sermon on the Mount fell like seed from the lips of Jesus. His parables of generosity and mercy enshrine His spirit forever in their words of gold; but the fountain of the ethics of Christendom is beyond and above even these. The final law and the final love were struck from history, as the water from the rock, by the deed of holy love upon the cross. There the Lawgiver of the mount sealed His law in His own blood; there the Preacher of love paid the last demands of an absolute love to meet the abysmal need of man. There man found and finds today that, in the life of the eternal God, a righteous will and a limitless love reign supreme.

Now the religion which makes that law and that love clear and sure, the religion which brings this mercy of God to bear upon the sinful man in the hour of his moral and mortal agony, — that religion is final. There is much to do in interpreting and applying these great facts, these deeds of God, to individuals and to all the details of life. There is room and need for endless progress here. No age has been without its protest against some portion of that law or some aspect of that love. No age has been without confusion regarding the particular manner in which various laws apply to particular emergencies of society. But to the conscience of the Christian man there is no doubt that holiness and love are objective facts, realized before the world's eyes in a manner which can neither be repeated nor surpassed. This revelation is supreme and final.

In the third place, the Christian religion has conferred on all believers the consciousness of, or conscious faith in, the possession of an eternal life. We know how the ancient world yearned after a future. There is no religion which does not include in some measure the thought of the under world, the further stage into which men pass at death. Even Buddhism, by its very

anxiety to avoid a continued existence in another world, at least affirms that mankind is in imminent danger of getting there. Here again Christianity comes upon the world like a burst of sunlight after a long and obscuring gloom. With its message of the resurrection life, with its vision of a spiritual body and a new heaven and a new earth, of a human destiny whose pattern is set forth in the triumph of Jesus, the gospel speaks like spring-time after winter, like morning after night, like radiant health after pining and despair. Any religion which contains a doctrine of man's final destiny thereby partakes of finality and seeks at once to make itself universal. Hence the missionary spirit of Buddhism; hence the passionate self-sacrifice of Mohammedans. Hence, too, the sublime energies of the Christian church. When it works its eyes are upon the destiny of the race. Not here is humanity at home; not here are the true needs of our heart fulfilled. Neither society nor the individual can become complete amid the uncertainties, the struggles, the sins of the earthly life. That which is seen is temporal; that which is not seen is eternal. "It is not yet manifest what we shall be." "When He shall appear we shall be like Him."

We might easily add to our list of those elements in Christianity which constitute it for our reason and our faith the final or absolute religion. Let these suffice. They enable us to face the world with the great conviction that man was made for Christ as truly as Christ for man. The deep, the deepest, mystery of sin is here resolved, not in a mere theory of its origin or issues, but in an actual removal of sin from the individual record and the individual heart by the will of God, through Jesus Christ. The grave which confronts each man can be looked upon by the man who knows and believes in the power of the risen Christ as already mastered. In his very faith he has the seed of life indissoluble and divine. And all this the individual receives and realizes, not in virtue of personal and private endowments and graces, but simply because he is a man. The gospel is for this man because it is for man. Because it is absolute and final in its very nature and in its relation to the race, therefore it becomes the ground of final hope, the fountain of everlasting life, to each human soul.

Is it not evident, then, that such a religion must become universal? Somehow its inherent nature must find expression; somehow its absolute and final value must come into direct relation with every man. No solitary soul must be robbed of that which in the purpose of God is created and intended for man as man. Every man must have the chance of tasting manhood. And manhood has not reached its opportunity, has not come in sight of its own supreme possibilities, until the absolute grace of God, all His holiness and all His love, are there revealed in one great heart on one great cross and throne.

II.

But, someone will say, how is the sublime task to be accomplished? And the answer, of course, is a very simple one. The absolute religion makes itself universal through the witness and lives of its believers. That also is too large a field to discuss just now. I must be content to touch it at one point. In the evolution of human experience the Divine Spirit engages the free action of man himself. Man is present at, and is watching, nay, assisting, his own creation after the image of God in Christ Jesus. As he looks upon the redemption into which he has come he not merely congratulates himself, but studies its bearing upon the race; and not only so, but seeks to know what part, with his mind and his heart, he may have in the task of God. Christianity spreads by awakening in us the passion for its own extension.

Let us be content to name three of the great thoughts which have become motive powers of immeasurable importance in the Christianizing of the world.

1. When the apostle Paul wrote his letter to the Roman Christians he felt himself compelled to justify his desire to visit the imperial city. He did so on two broad and general grounds. The first was that Christianity is the absolute and universal religion. "It is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." The second was that his own share in the power of the gospel made him a debtor to all mankind. "I am debtor both to Greeks and to barbarians." "I am debtor." There are debts which crush and there are debts which ennoble a man. A man

may sleep and wake under the terrible bondage of an obligation which haunts him. To have incurred it is a dishonor. To fail in it is like the bitterness of death. It sows in his heart fear and shame before men; it starts in their minds distrust and dislike of him. But there is an indebtedness whose very yoke is an honor and whose burden is joy. It springs not from poverty but from wealth, not from failure but from achievement. It goes forth in splendid labor, inspiring alike the debtor and the receiver of his free and happy toil. This is the indebtedness of the man who is blessed, because he is blessed, to the man who is unblessed, that he may become blessed. It is a principle of wide application. It inspires the modern glorious ideals of education. It is beginning like a divine ferment to work in the thought of those who face all kinds of social and industrial problems and, indeed, all human duties. But as a working principle in human life it has its historic origin and its permanent energy here, in the indebtedness of the Christian man to the human race.

But this debt has its own peculiar conditions and its own characteristic emotion. It works through a pitying love. Behind Paul's great phrase, "I am debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians," there is a deep movement of the heart. It is the same emotion which breaks out later in the same epistle as he thought of the position of Israel. "I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience bearing witness with me in the Holy Ghost that I have great sorrow and unceasing pain in my heart. For I could wish that I myself were anathema from Christ for my brethren's sake, my kinsmen after the flesh." There speaks the passion that can conquer a world. If that glorious extravagance, that spiritual self-contradiction of love to God and man, can repeat itself in other hearts, who or what shall stem its tide? It shall yet cast its "pure ablution" upon all of "earth's human shores," and save the world from its threatening anathema, its curse and doom. The church has lost much power through loss of a sincere compassion for the heathen man and the rejector of Christ. There never can be a passionate evangelism except out of the depths of a passionate pity. We are timid about the word "lost." We play round it with our petty marginal glosses taken from magazines, and from amateur theologians, and from

third-rate poetasters who only see an inch deep into the heart of man. We are afraid, I say, to put anything of the absolute, of the eternal, into that word "lost." But it came from the lips of Christ. But it brought the Son of man from God's throne. But it thrust through his heart with sorrow on the hill slopes of Galilee and in the streets of Jerusalem. But it cost the Father that eternal sorrow which spoke on Calvary, when He spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all. All the possibilities of a free will, all the sanctities of a holy love, all the brimming cup of Gethsemane, all the horror of the death of Christ, all the eternal love of God, must go to form our conception of the meaning of that word "lost."

And thus, and thus, our debt will rise up before us. Then we who by God's grace are being saved shall look out with our eyes upon the old world. When that great compassion humbles, purifies, permeates, compels us all, the Christianization of the world will approach its consummation.

2. We have already seen that the central figure and the real foundation of all that is final in Christianity is in the person of Jesus Christ, the Incarnate Son of God. It is therefore natural to expect that He should directly act upon the motives of His disciples in this world mission. If compassion for man draws us, it is devotion to the purpose and spirit and word of Christ which impels us manwards. Loyalty is one of the great words of modern speech. To be loyal, to be trusty, is to command admiration and confidence. History is full of thrilling instances of loyalty. The capacity of man for that great virtue is inexhaustible. The mother's devotion to her child, the patriotic love of the fatherland, the friend's sacrifice, even of life, for his friend, the lofty consecration of great souls to great ideals and unselfish tasks, these and many other forms of loyalty make the very substance of history and cover its pages with glory. But human loyalty has reached its highest expression in relation to the person of Christ. He claimed it from men in words which still sometimes stun our reason. "He that loveth father and mother more than Me is not worthy of Me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than Me is not worthy of Me; and he that doth not take up his cross and follow after Me is not worthy of Me." Those

words, which seem to loosen the most sacred ties of blood and love on earth, could only be justified by His Divinity and His Cross; nay, they can be only justified in history by His power, through that very command and our acceptance of it, to make those ties dearer and firmer than they were before. But experience has proved that behind them, as He spoke them, there beat the very heart of Love Divine, all love excelling. Experience has proved that in those communities in which the love of Christ's person is made supreme the love of human kinship is made divine. The preacher of the gospel has resolved to make the love of Christ supreme in his life, the molding principle of his career.

Hence it is that we find the apostle glorying in his weakness, in his trials, in his sufferings. He sees that more sorrow was necessary than that of Christ ere the actual salvation of the world could be attained. In a bold and passionate phrase he has said it all. In his own sufferings he is making up that which was lacking in the afflictions of Christ. The gospel has to be both created and proclaimed in order that the world may be saved. Christ could not do both. He created it; man must proclaim it. But in each task sacrifice is absolutely necessary. There is no creating a gospel without the agony of a cross, and a man cannot carry its message without tasting its pain. But in that very thought the apostle finds inspiration. To suffer as an apostle is to suffer after and for and with Jesus Christ. It is to be associated in God's high purpose with the Redeemer of the world. It is to be made partaker in that sorrow of God from which all the story of redemption has its rise. In our day it is the custom of many to rest their missionary enthusiasm upon the great commission: "Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations; and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." These numberless young men and women who have volunteered to do their part in Christianizing the world have heard those words as a soldier hears the words of a commander loved and trusted. It is no slavery to obey His commands; no lash is needed to drive His soldiers to an unwilling warfare. His word, because it is His, is enough to make the warm blood tingle and the young eye flash, and Christianity has awakened in one more heart the passion for its own extension.

3. Once more let me revert to the man who was the greatest of all Christ's missionaries, and the laying bare of whose heart has revealed to all generations the nature and power of the gospel of Jesus Christ as no other life has done. When writing to the Corinthian church, in the energy of his great thought he uttered many striking words about the Christian ministry, but none is more remarkable than this: "We are fellow-workers with God." The very heart of Christian experience is found in the new and conscious fellowship with God through faith in Christ Jesus. This fellowship is not exhausted in mere interchange of thought or in experience of mutual love. The Divine is a creative life, and fellowship is not complete which does not share that creative energy and end of God. As I said before, God's method of evolution in man consists in using the mind and will and love of man to work out His august doings. But the other side to that is obvious. Man is a coworker with God. He is allowed to see the end, he is allowed to grasp the means, he is allowed to put his own strength into the building of the house of God, whose stones of quivering life and ringing joy are the purified souls of men. It is not a thought which we can elaborate. It is one which steals into our minds as we sit alone and meditate. It is too great to be described, too subtle to be made explicit, too close to heart and conscience to be rudely urged and pressed by man on man. But look at it. To see the far-off end of God, a human race perfected in eternity in Christ Jesus. To feel its glory. To know that we may work with God for that!

If my argument has been in the main a sound one; if Christianity is the absolute and final religion; if it awakes the passion for its own extension through the motives which we have named; if the church of Christ can be stirred by a firm and deep pity for the world as Christless, hopeless, lifeless; if the church can follow the will of Christ as the army goes out to fight for all that is dearest on earth; if the church of Christ can realize what it is to be coworkers with God in His eternal purpose, then I return to our starting-point: the Christianization of the world is inevitable.

William Douglas Mackenzie.

*Hartford Theological Seminary.*

# A CONGREGATIONAL ORDER OF SERVICE.*

The problem of an Order of Service for the chief service of our Congregational churches might be treated at any length. In the space here available the aim will be to keep to those special points that seem to bear directly upon the practical problem as it stands today. No apology is needed for using a highly condensed and dogmatic form of statement. The elements of the argument might well be expanded greatly, were this the proper occasion.

1. No conceivable Order of Service can by itself solve the problem of Public Worship. Any order, however good, can be rendered nugatory by unwise handling, and probably any order, however bad, can be made useful by a leader of genius. The secret of the highest success lies in the leaders, not in orders or forms taken by themselves. Yet the Order of Service merits careful consideration, since for the leader it supplies a useful framework of action and for the congregation it is the basis of regular habits of thought and feeling. Certain ways of combining exercises are surely better than others, and progress is to be furthered by defining the reasons why this is so, so that custom and criticism may be intelligent.

2. What our churches most need is not a fixed order as regards details, certainly not a single liturgy with but few variable elements, but such an awakening to certain principles that many orders or variations may be worked out, all of which shall be more or less excellent. Uniformity of items is far less important than a general unity of ideas. The example of the Episcopal Prayer Book, which we have constantly before us, is highly suggestive both of things to be imitated and things to be shunned. Probably something like the Presbyterian Directory of Worship is closer to our traditions and philosophically better.

* A paper prepared as a contribution to the discussions of the National Council Committee on the Enrichment of Worship, which reported at Des Moines on October 20, 1904.

3. Every service should be considered by its leader and its participants as a large unit, not a collection of unrelated fragments. The true unifying idea is that it is an interview between two great parties, the divine and the human, carried on with the help of special officials serving as spokesmen and representatives of both — as mediators in a practical, not a theological sense. This basal idea is indispensible, since only by reference to it can any single exercise or series of exercises be justified or rightly developed. Public Worship is not essentially a transaction between men, but between men and God. Whatever takes place between its apparent participants has no validity except as it feeds into the interchange between earth and heaven, between the seen and the unseen, and is carried on with a consciousness of God's immediate presence and His active participation. The genuine recognition of this principle would clear the field of many of its seeming difficulties. Such a recognition surely has much to do with the marshaling of exercises.

4. There are three great kinds of action to be interwoven in every service, viz.: *Worship,* the address to God of forms of speech and song that embody confession, profession, petition, thanksgiving, and adoration; *Instruction,* the transmission as from God of forms of speech or song that proclaim His supremacy, truth, holiness, and love; and *Mutual Stimulation,* the varied interplay of language, tone, manner, decorum, etc., by which leaders and people help each other to realize the meaning and intensify the value of what they are about. Of these worship and instruction are plainly chief, and these two are complementary to each other. In general, instruction is initial or primary, while worship is consequent and derived (though surely not secondary). Either of them may be magnified, if only their organic interdependence be fully recognized. Instruction is fruitless unless it issues in the desire and the impulse to worship, and worship is superficial and empty unless it rests back upon the experience of divine truth. The function of stimulation is not easily defined, except that it coöperates at various points with the processes of both instruction and worship. It should of course be added that these three elements are not and need not be coterminous with particular exercises. Thus a sermon

combines instruction with stimulation, and many a hymn embodies all three elements. The exact analysis of cases is sometimes not easy.

5. All the historic Orders of Service exhibit some instinctive attempt not only to employ exercises distinctly embodying these three sorts of action, but to arrange them with reference to some logical sequence. The critical question about the traditional order of our American Congregational churches, as about all orders, is whether the emphasis is well laid and the various items well grouped. With us the sermon is exalted as the culminating exercise, not only filling the most space, but set in the position of climax. This results from our historic emphasis upon interpretation and exhortation as essential to edification, the sermon being regarded as an integral part of the Gospel message to the particular congregation. But our practice seems also to imply that worship leads up to instruction, and even that instruction is the supreme end of public worship. To avoid the awkwardness of this conclusion, it is customary to say. that in our theory the exercise of instruction in which public worship seems to culminate is intended to find its proper completion in the worship of common life outside the church. There is plainly room for much discussion just here, but the facts are obvious. Of course, when we look back into history, we observe that our practice has not always obtained. There are some fair reasons for our peculiar emphasis, though it is not certain that they are still forcible in just the way our fathers might have stated them (see section 11 below).

6. Assuming our familiar tradition about the general plan of the service, the question of grouping exercises at once presents itself. Some ministers seem to recognize only two main groups: either "the introductory exercises" prior to the sermon and the sermon itself, with whatever follows (thus making a chronological division), or the Bible-reading plus the sermon as over against everything else (dividing logically between instruction and worship). This prevalent habit of thought is historically due to the fact that our traditions about public worship have chiefly been shaped by those who were themselves earnest

preachers, absorbed in their mission as evangelizers and teachers. We are apt to imagine that ours is an essentially Protestant liturgical tradition. Yet the traditions of both the Anglican and the Lutheran churches are essentially different. That which is disturbing our churches is a vague sense that our view is somewhat peculiar and at variance with that of other Protestant bodies. The most striking variance is with the order of the Episcopal Church, in which what is called "the Service" stands on a parity with the sermon, or, rather, envelops the latter as an exercise that may or may not be emphasized. So we are passing through a time in which the improvement and enrichment of "the service" is much called for. This amounts to a revolt of the people from an over-ministerial theory of public worship, virtually a reassertion of that right of the congregation in public worship, as against clerical domination, which was one of the highest notes of the Reformation. Surely, this is one of the best "signs of the times." The only question is as to how it shall be directed to useful results.

The great desideratum is that the service shall be made strong and complete enough to hold its own, so as to be useful irrespective of the sermon. This is unquestionably the power of the Episcopal service. Given this, and the sermon itself can be made still more effective than it is. It is not service versus sermon that we want, but service plus sermon. No one ought to love the sermon less, but simply the service as a whole more. Our two main groups of exercises will remain after all discussion, but they will be differently estimated and coördinated. It is likely that we shall come out with really four groups of exercises: an introduction, a mingled series of reflection and worship, the sermon, and a conclusion. Of these, furthermore, the second will tend to separate somewhat into subgroups.

To give dignity and warrant for each group, and also to supply that touch of impression that ought regularly to precede exercises of expression, Biblical readings or formulæ should be placed near the beginning of each group and subgroup. Indeed, single exercises of importance may often be introduced by the dignified repetition of a single verse pertaining to the nature of the exercise,

as in the versicles of the formal liturgies. On the other hand, each group and subgroup should culminate, if possible, in some exercise that is either directly or virtually congregational. The general principle of arrangement should be that instruction or reminder is the natural basis of worship in all its forms, and hence that exercises directed toward the congregation should lead up to those arising from the congregation. In the practical handling of the service it is extremely desirable that the leader, at least, should sharply individualize the various groups of exercises as such, and also that they should be slightly separated from each other by a brief pause or by a quiet organ interlude. The attention to exercises in groups is of the utmost practical importance, because it supplies organization and rational development to the service. In the order here suggested the second main group is divided into three subgroups: the first of general praise, the second containing the chief lesson and the chief prayer, and the third exalting the offertory and the creed or covenant as special expressions of Christian fellowship.

Here it should be noted that for practical purposes the methods of opening and closing the service are of extreme importance, since for both leader and congregation they go far toward establishing either a controlling anticipation or a summary impression. Both should be scrupulously careful and dignified. Attention to these outstanding points of the service will sometimes bring more general benefit than any other one line of effort. Each should be governed by the vivid sense that public worship is a special kind of interview between God and men. The opening should be marked by especial reverence and humility, with something of that touch of contrite confession that is found in all the historic liturgies. The prevalent insertion at this point of the Doxology, of a jubilant choir piece, or of a hymn of praise, is unsuitable, and even dangerous, since it does not foster that humble attitude toward the Almighty that should mark our formal approach to Him. Conversely, the close of the service needs equally to be guarded against irreverence and flippancy. The safeguards consist in the setting of a prayer close to the benediction and in the dexterous use of music, including a revolution in the treatment of the postlude. From many small indications we may

infer that our churches are now somewhat ready for advance in this regard.

In the middle of the service the point of greatest infelicity in current usage is the handling of the collection or offertory. Helplessness or vulgarity of method just here works evil right and left, and the relegation of this exercise to choir display has proved risky, to say the least. The reclamation of this barren spot, as it is in too many services, is to come by emphasizing its significance as an expression of Christian fraternity and good will, and by coupling it with some such declaration of Christian unity as the creed, or, better, a covenant.

The great foci of impressional interest and emphasis in the service as a whole should be the Bible lesson, with its appended chief prayer, and the sermon, with its appended hymn of prayer or zealous hope. The latter focus is already sufficiently exalted, and practical effort should therefore be directed toward exalting the Scripture reading to the same dignity that it has in all historic usages except our own. If the topic of this paper called for it, much could be said about how this is to be accomplished. It seems clear that the first climax of the service should be made so evident and powerful as to have value and dignity quite irrespective of the quality of the preaching, so that it should become precious in the eyes of all participants. Numerous illustrations of what is meant might be cited if this was the place for them.

7. Before passing to the suggestion of a concrete order, it will be well to say that in the practical treatment of all services the handling of musical exercises is critically important, since they often do as much as any one element to fix the emotional character of the whole. Three remarks present themselves as important. First, the organ has great value when used alone — in preludes that shall solemnize and soften the congregational feeling, in postludes that shall sustain and deepen the impressiveness of the interview about spiritual things that has just been held, and in brief and unostentatious interludes that shall mark and separate the several groups of exercises. Second, the congregational hymns should be better classified and used with far more discrimination than is common, remembering that they usually fall into three or four large classes that are not liturgically

interchangeable, and each of which has special fitness for use at particular points in the service. Third, choir music is still more in need of critical separation into large classes, so that the position of the anthem, for instance, shall be determined by its inherent character. The placing of the anthem at one fixed point in the service has decided disadvantages, since all anthems are not equally appropriate for any one point, though all classes have utility. Personally, I believe that our churches generally need a deliberate elevation of the teaching or preaching anthem as distinguished from the anthem of praise or prayer. But this again is a topic not assigned to this paper.

8. The particular order suggested below is purposely conformed to current usages, so as not to involve needless novelties. It is not highly elaborated as to details, nor quite as extended as may be desirable in some churches. It is designed for what may be called the average minister and congregation. Its musical features may be reduced without great loss, so as not to tax the resources of churches where varied music is not practicable. Its carrying out is not dependent upon the use of a special service-book, though the time has come for the issue and general use of such a book. This order could be put into the form of a leaflet for distribution almost without cost, though its best use would be helped by the issue of a collection of formulæ and many detailed lists that should supply to ministers a large fund of useful information and assistance. This latter manual, as I conceive it, should be something quite different from the Prayer Book, though borrowing some materials from it. (See section 10.)

9. The order here advocated is in outline as follows:

INTRODUCTION.

ORGAN PRELUDE (4-8 minutes) — the minister and people in their places, as far as possible.

* PREFACE (Biblical) by Minister, relative to God's nature, the act of worship, etc., or a great promise.

* PREFACE (Biblical) by Congregation or Choir, replying to the Preface by a declaration of trust, hope, or zeal, or echoing its thought as a kind of confession.

* SALUTATION (Biblical) by Minister (as in Paul's Epistles).

* The brackets at the side indicate the exercises during which the congregation should stand.

Opening Prayer by Minister, expressing humility, penitence, expectancy, with petitions for reality of communion, with
The Lord's Prayer in unison. (The "Amen" may be sung.)
(A brief organ coda or response is useful.)

GENERAL WORSHIP AND REFLECTION.

Responsive Reading or Recitation by All — with an appended Gloria, if desired.
Hymn of Praise by All, its topics being the Day, the Lord's House, God's nature or providence, thanksgiving, the Church, etc.
Chief Anthem, if one of *Praise.*
Bible Lesson by Minister, preferably not the mere context of the sermon-text, but a passage of decided value in itself.
Chief Anthem, if one of *Teaching* or *Exhortation.*
Chief Prayer by Minister, embodying thanksgiving, adoration, profession, petition, and intercession in some deliberate order.
Chief Anthem, if one of *Petition.*
Offertory — *Sentences* (Biblical) by Minister.
*Response* (Biblical) by Choir, perhaps a short anthem, sentence, or solo, if the words are strictly germane.
*Dedication or Ascription* by Minister.
*Doxology* by All.
The Creed or a Covenant by All, if possible.
The Notices, if any.
Hymn of Prayer by All, embodying trust, love, hope, or petition, the topic somewhat related to the sermon, though not too closely.
(A brief organ coda or response is useful.)

PASTORAL INSTRUCTION AND EXHORTATION.

The Sermon by Minister.
Hymn of Petition or Zeal by All, the topic depending upon that of the Sermon.
(A brief organ coda or response is useful.)

CONCLUSION.

Closing Prayer by Minister, rendering thanks for the privilege of the service, and invoking blessing and guidance for common life.
Choir Response, if desired, the congregation still bowed.
Benediction by Minister, the congregation still bowed.
Organ Postlude (about 5 minutes), if possible with the Minister and people remaining in their places.

10. Some such plain outline may well be recommended for general use in our churches, with enough notes to make its intention clear. Furthermore, as has already been said, the time has come to urge the drafting of a Manual of Worship for our people and ministers, primarily designed to help the latter, but

containing much that might be reprinted separately for congregational use. Part I of this Manual should contain (*a*) several outline plans of services with explanations; (*b*) at least ten Prefaces and Responses, the latter perhaps provided with chants; (*c*) The Apostles' Creed and several forms of Covenant, similar to those used by churches for their members; (*d*) several historic prayers for memorization, like the Lord's Prayer, the General Confession, and the General Thanksgiving from the Prayer Book, perhaps two or three Litanies, etc.; (*e*) about 75 Responsive Readings, made up so as to have unity of topic in each case, with some passages recommended for memoriter recitation. Part II (chiefly for ministers) should contain (*a*) at least ten forms of Salutation and as many Benedictions; (*b*) a variety of Offertory Formulæ of all necessary kinds; (*c*) classified lists of at least 150 recommended Bible Lessons; (*d*) classified lists of 200 or more standard hymns; (*e*) a large selection of Prayers, carefully edited and arranged under titles for easy reference. Probably there should also be a Part III, containing recommended orders for special ceremonies and occasions. In plan and style this Manual should resemble the Book of Common Order of the Church Service Society of Scotland, though it should contain many features wholly lacking in that book. In compiling it a wide range of liturgies should be consulted — Presbyterian, Episcopal, Lutheran, Dutch Reformed, Moravian, Catholic Apostolic, Roman, Mozarabic, Greek, etc.

The issue of such a Manual as this by a competent committee appointed in some dignified way seems to me the most important liturgical desideratum for our churches just now. How far it would be used must be left wholly to the will of individual churches and ministers.

As its compilation would be a very large task of scholarship, probably it would have to be completed only by sections. This would make the financial problem of publication less difficult.

11. It is only right to add that in my own mind there has been a growing conviction that sometime our churches would begin to make a change in the general plan of their chief service whereby the Sermon would be placed much earlier than is now customary. There are a number of reasons why this would be a

gain. It would remove some intellectual difficulties that now exist, enabling the average preacher to conduct the exercises of praise and prayer with less tension and abstraction, and at the same time bringing the sermon's message to the minds of the congregation when they are fresher and more receptive. It would improve the theoretical balance of our service by setting instruction and exhortation nearer the beginning, so that worship might grow out of them instead of leading up to them — as we do instinctively in our prayer-meetings. It would probably go a long way toward eliminating some of the infelicities that are now common in musical exercises, because bringing them more irresistibly under the influence of verbal exercises whose seriousness could not be escaped. It would tend to obliterate that most unfortunate chasm that now exists in some minds between the sermon and all other parts of public worship, and could be so managed as to establish a far greater total unity in the service.

But it does not seem that the time has yet come for the distinct advocacy of this change. To many ministers it would appear, strangely enough, like a lowering of their dignity as preachers, and to many congregations it would probably seem like the overturning of precious traditions. Yet some such plan is found in nearly all the historic liturgies except those of the Zwinglian type. We are somewhat peculiar in this liturgical practice, and hence it is not wholly wrong to say that the reasons for maintaining our peculiarity are at least worth examining sometime to ascertain whether or not they are really as cogent as they have been thought to be.

Waldo S. Pratt.

*Hartford Theological Seminary.*

# WORK, NEEDS, AND CLAIMS OF THE NEW ENGLAND THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.*

## THE WORK OF THESE SEMINARIES.

1. The work of these seminaries is to train candidates for service in our churches as pastors, preachers, and leaders. They, with the four sister seminaries of the South and West, ought to train practically all those who seek ecclesiastical positions in our Congregational churches and under our denominational missionary boards. The fact is, they are not doing it. A careful estimate shows that some forty per cent. of those who have entered upon service in the Congregational churches of this country during the last three years were trained theologically in schools of other denominations, or were largely untrained. To be specific: Last year, which may be regarded as fairly representative, the graduates of all the Congregational seminaries of the country were barely enough to balance the number of deceased Congregational clergymen that year, while sixty-two new churches were organized, each needing, and the most of them securing, pastors. The number of deaths among Congregational clergymen last year was below the average of the last six years, while the number of new churches formed was less than the average, and the number of seminary graduates was above the average of the last three years. This makes it clear that for three years, and even longer, our own seminaries have not supplied the annual needs of our own churches by from forty to fifty per cent.

This has brought into our denomination as leaders a large number of men who have not been trained in the fundamentals of our denomination, and who are not familiar with its traditions, principles, and benevolent organizations. While much could

* A paper read before the National Congregational Council at Des Moines, Ia., Oct. 20, 1904. The author was appointed to speak respecting Andover, Bangor, Hartford, and Yale. Another speaker represented the remaining Congregational Seminaries at the same session of the council.

well be said here, I wish simply to call attention to the fact that our own seminaries are not turning out the product demanded by our own Congregational churches and missionary organization. In order to meet the need of our denomination the seminaries should increase the present number of their students by fifty per cent.

2. Instruction. During the last three years three of the New England seminaries have chosen and installed new presidents, Dr. Day at Andover, Dr. Beach at Bangor, and Dr. Mackenzie at Hartford; and Yale has installed a dean, Dr. Sanders. There have been changes in the faculties of all, but none that indicates radical changes in policy, methods, or principles. Hartford has put special emphasis upon an extended course on Missions and Pedagogy; Yale has developed and perfected its relations to the university of which it is a part; while Andover and Bangor have strengthened the bond that binds the seminary to the life of the churches in their respective states.

The courses of study offered in all have been increased in number, and in the cases of Hartford and Yale have been carefully grouped. It is well within the bounds of moderation to say that these four seminaries are today offering courses in theological studies which, for carefulness in preparation and thoroughness of scholarship and breadth of subjects, have never been equaled in their history.

3. Doctrinal Distinctions. In the judgment of many, within and without, there is practically no vital difference in the teachings of these seminaries. There probably are some local differences of interpretation and different methods of approach to some of the subjects in the curricula, but in the old sense, in the judgment of many outsiders, there is no distinctive Andover, Yale, Hartford, and Bangor theology. The faculties may be conscious of differences that are not evident to the public and which are too subtle and scholastic to interest the public. It is not the function of this paper to discuss the distinctive character of the theology taught in these seminaries. Perhaps the one method of work that is common to all of these institutions is that of instructing the students devoutly to employ scientific methods of research, without prejudice and with the one purpose of reach-

ing ultimate truth. The old division between orthodoxy and unorthodoxy is not emphasized in the schools; the present distinction being made between truth and untruth. Perhaps more than at any other period all these institutions are attempting to apply theological instruction to the present conditions of society and the present methods of thought.

### THE NEEDS OF THESE SEMINARIES.

Under the head of the "needs" let us consider:

1. Consolidation. Probably this word "consolidation" has been used during the last three years more than any other word in our language in discussing the theological schools of New England. We must begin with this in order to clear the way. It is a word caught from commerce and trade, and is now in process of conversion into the theological nomenclature of our day. "Consolidation" seems to be in the air, all kinds of consolidation — profane, philanthropic, and religious; why, then, should it not be applied to our four theological seminaries in the East?

Let us not be carried off our feet by anything "in the air." We need to move upon the solid ground of calm reason and good judgment when considering a matter so vital to the life of our churches as the training of its ministry.

Few, if any, who discuss this matter have a plan for the consolidation of these four seminaries, or any two of them, that is practical. Some, if not the most, who speak the loudest have not thought the subject beyond the one word, and all based upon the argument: "Business houses are consolidating, corporations are consolidating, our New England theological seminaries ought to consolidate." I do not believe that there is a fair-minded man in this council — and we are all fair-minded men — who would not work strenuously for consolidation if it can be demonstrated that such a step will help the cause for which these seminaries stand. A plan for consolidation that cannot be so demonstrated is not worthy our consideration.

Some say remove three of the seminaries to Andover or Hartford or New Haven and so have one seminary in New England. This is not consolidation; it is a proposition to close three semi-

naries, putting them out of commission, and sacrificing the larger part of their assets.

Others say remove all four of the seminaries to one central place and combine them into one. That could mean but one thing — the closing of all four of the seminaries and the opening of an entirely new one. There could be no Andover, Bangor, and Hartford Theological seminaries except at Andover, Bangor, and Hartford, and the Divinity School at New Haven could not be the Theological Department of Yale University except in connection with the university. In each case much, if not most, of the financial and traditional assets of each seminary would be sacrificed by closure or attempted removal.

The question then is, would it be a real gain to the work of training students for the ministry in our denomination to have two or even three of the present seminaries in New England, with all of their traditions and much of their property and devoted constituency, sacrificed with the hope that as much (yes! it must be *more*) would be obtained of property, devotion, and constituency for the conduct of theological training under the new conditions. I tell you, brethren, this calls for the sacrifice of tremendous assets for what, up to date, is largely speculation. It is more speculative than most of the present day corporation consolidations, for there they always have the original plants plus water as capital; here the plants are largely sacrificed and we are sure only of the water.

Whether or not all these seminaries were wisely begun is not for us to discuss today. That has no bearing upon our present question. The fact remains that apart from the Pacific Seminary, begun in 1869, and Atlanta Seminary, begun in 1901 (about neither of which do we hear consolidation discussed), no new seminary for the training of students for the Congregational ministry has been begun since 1858, and no new seminary in New England since 1834. These four seminaries have thus been engaged in their legitimate work, located where they stand today, for seventy years.

During the seventy years there has been large denominational growth. All of the home missionary organizations have enormously enlarged their operations, while the work of foreign

missions has more than quadrupled. At the same time the number of Congregational churches in this country to be supplied with a Christian ministry has increased over three-fold, with about the same growth in membership. However much these four seminaries were needed in 1834, there is certainly at the present time three or four times the field to be supplied with the products they turn out, while the subjects demanded by the churches and included in the curricula have increased in about the same proportion. In other words, the demand has increased more than six-fold, while the plants remain practically the same.

For the last four decades there have been organized, on the average, 686 new Congregational churches each decade, each church needing a trained pastor. This growth has not ceased. It will go on. It would be most unwise to make any move now that could and would be interpreted as a general denominational conviction that we do not expect much growth in the future, and so are beginning to close down our institutions that are set to produce the men who alone can lead to still greater enlargement.

2. Affiliation. It has been suggested as worthy of consideration in whole or in part, and as a distinct relief to the present situation, and all in the interest of increased efficiency and greater economy, that our four New England seminaries (or, maybe, three) so affiliate and coördinate their courses of study that the courses offered by the four (or three) shall constitute, when taken together, one complete theological course, requiring residence for one year at two or more seminaries in order to secure the degree of B.D. This plan contemplates the arrangement of courses in the seminaries so that no course shall be duplicated. The arrangement could be brought about by a committee of instruction appointed proportionately from the various local boards of trustees, and with power to make any and all changes necessary in courses of study and in faculties to accomplish the above results, this committee having authority over the instruction given in each of the four seminaries.

As an illustration, to use the old divisions of theology, which might or might not be followed, this plan would give, for instance, to Yale the entire historical work, including all allied topics; to Hartford, systematic theology and all that is associated

with that subject; to Andover, exegesis and its affiliated subjects; and to Bangor, practical theology. A large list of electives could be arranged for each seminary. The advantages claimed for this plan are:

(1.) Economy of administration.

(2.) The possibility of doing much more thorough and broader work.

(3.) The removal of a spirit of rivalry between seminaries.

(4.) Bringing all students under the personal influence of all the faculties.

(5.) It would permit each seminary to hold all its present funds and endowments.

As each subject is now taught in four seminaries, it is claimed this would practically increase the efficiency of the theological course four-fold at the same cost, thus offering the most complete theological course of study now offered anywhere in the world.

Some of the objections are:

(1.) It would compel a peripatetic course for every student.

(2.) It would necessitate large and fundamental changes in the faculties.

(3.) It would radically change what goes by the name of "the peculiar atmosphere," that is attributed to each existing institution.

(4.) It would change entirely our present ideas of a theological seminary.

(5.) It would compel the completion of a major course, as, for instance, history or theology, in one year.

3. Adaptation of Courses. These institutions must present courses of instruction calculated to meet the vital needs of which the churches are conscious. The curricula should not be based upon what the faculties prefer to teach, but upon what the churches require. These seminaries can never do the work they are set to do until they make the needs of the churches and missionary societies the basis for the organization and development of their courses of instruction.

This will necessarily raise the question as to the present emphasis placed upon the study of Hebrew and possibly Greek.

These subjects were fundamental when verbal inspiration of the Scriptures was basal in our theological systems. I do not suggest the elimination of these studies, but I do call attention to these facts, to which is added another no less significant fact that some of our colleges are granting the degree of B.A., and others will soon follow, to students who have taken no Greek in their college course. The men in our seminaries should be preëminently prepared to meet and win men in all walks and conditions of life.

4. Coöperation Among Themselves. These seminaries need to come to such an understanding among themselves that the impression which has been made in the past upon students and others, that they are competitors if not almost bitter rivals of each other, shall be displaced by the impression that they seek first the Kingdom of God and the success of the churches, and after that the exaltation of their own particular institutions. This is a relic of the controversies of earlier days, intensified by an overwhelming desire for more students. The seminaries need to be assured that no one judges of the merits of any seminary by the number of its students, but by the kind of men it sends out and their equipment for the service to which they are called. The seminaries should unite upon some method of presenting to college men the claims of the ministry without at the same time exalting any one seminary.

5. Constructive and Devout Scholarship. The churches, I believe, are a unit in the desire that the teaching in our seminaries shall be constructive, practical, and devout. The day has passed when the Kingdom of God at home or abroad can be built up and promulgated by controversy or destructive criticism.

6. The Coöperation of Every Congregational Church and Pastor. Theological students are mostly made in the home before college experiences begin. Here they are directly under the influence of their parents and pastors, and can be reached but remotely by the seminaries. These two dominating influences should be cast upon the side of theological training if we are ever to expect an increase in candidates for the ministry.

7. Instruction must be Modern. I do not say that the training in our seminaries is not abreast of the times, but, however that may be, it must be kept there. In order to accomplish this

the seminaries must be provided with funds for library, apparatus, and faculties adequate to the demands of the courses. Independent investigation must be provided for to fit the student intelligently to grapple with the living questions of the day; while mature scholarship is essential, practical leadership is imperative. And yet our seminaries should produce evidence to disprove the impression that prevails in some quarters that spiritual fervor and earnestness are incompatible with thorough scholarship.

8. The Confidence of the Churches. No seminary can do its proper work if constantly under the fire of adverse and often ignorant criticism. This disheartens and intimidates or exasperates and antagonizes the faculties, discourages students, and cuts off financial support. If we wish to paralyze the work of the seminaries we can employ no better method. Without such coöperation, theological training must constantly struggle against forces that tend to disintegration. These seminaries are not adverse to friendly criticism, and even seek it, but public expressions of lack of confidence strike a blow at the seminaries and so at the very heart of the prosperity and life of our churches.

9. Our seminaries need to care earnestly for the vital warmth and fervor of their spiritual life. Unless their graduates go out with a consciousness of having lived and studied in an atmosphere charged with spiritual inspiration and with an assurance that they go to proclaim a message which they can preface by "Thus saith the Lord," they can never do the work Congregationalism at home and abroad demands of its ministry. Scholarship is important, the scientific methods are of inestimable value, but spiritual fervor and a consciousness of the perpetual presence of God is absolutely vital. A passion for bringing men into the religious life must animate both faculty and students, or these seminaries cannot justify their existence. Our seminaries can and must do this for their students or their work must fail. If they wish men to come to them they must send forth preachers who will win men.

THE CLAIMS THESE SEMINARIES HAVE UPON THE CHURCHES.

1. These seminaries have a right to demand and do demand that our Congregational churches shall exalt an educated min-

istry. It is disheartening to the cause of thorough and sound theological education, as well as destructive to the best interests of our churches, to have men of greatly limited educational advantages and training preferred for the highest service of the churches to those who are graduates of our own theological schools. The leaders in our churches must not forget the traditions of our denomination. Permanent Christian leadership cannot be expected from men of partial intellectual and religious training. If Congregational churches put a premium upon scant preparation for the ministry, how can we expect college or university trained young men to enter our well-equipped theological schools in numbers sufficient to man our churches at home and meet the requirements of the mission fields abroad?

2. These seminaries demand of the churches that they recognize the necessity of making theological training both scientific and modern. Theology is a science as well as a religion. No science is taught today as it was taught a quarter of a century or even a decade ago. There have been no changes in the facts of physical science in that time, but there have been marked changes in the number of known facts, in the point of view, the manner of approach, and the application of recognized principles. Few young men, however devout, will be willing to turn from a modern and scientifically conducted university or college course to the study of theology conducted according to the methods used long ago. This does not mean that there must be or can be changes in the fundamental truths taught, but it does mean that we, members of the Congregational churches, are bound to recognize that the methods of theological instruction must be modernized so as to adapt our religious thinking to the best thought and life of our day and generation. This does not mean and cannot mean the sacrifice of a single truth. Truth cannot be sacrificed in theology any more than in physical science. Any attempt so to do would be neither scientific nor modern. But it does mean that we must permit the clothing of old truths in modern dress, and the expression of old doctrine in modern language, so that Theology, the queen of sciences, shall command the confidence of all devout and thoughtful men.

3. The seminaries have a right to demand that criticisms

of their methods and work shall be constructive. The cases are few indeed where destructive criticism has helped either the critic or the criticised. Investigation and conference are the highest methods of arriving at fundamental truths. A full recognition of the devotion and integrity of the man who radically differs from oneself in his theological thinking is the highest manifestation of theological earnestness and sincerity of purpose. While the churches have a right to demand of the seminaries that they shall treat their legitimate constituency with open frankness, they, too, expect from the churches fair, open, friendly, and Christian consideration in all matters pertaining to the matter of methods of instruction.

4. The seminaries have a right to claim that the churches shall recognize them as their agents, upon whose coöperation and support they depend and for whose upbuilding they exist. The churches cannot repudiate responsibility for these seminaries. The churches created them to supply a need of which they were conscious and which has continually increased. To these the churches send their choicest sons and from them they secure their leaders. They constitute the only agency available to the churches for training its ministry, upon whom, under God and the leadership of the Holy Spirit, the very life of the churches depends. While these seminaries have a large measure of organic independence from the control and supervision of the churches, nevertheless they are absolutely dependent upon the churches for their very life. Their students and their means for subsistence come from the churches, while the results of their work must be accepted by the churches, else they will totally fail.

In most respects our four seminaries in the East are doing the same work, possess the same needs, and present the same claims as those in the West and South. Their close geographical relations to each other, taken together with the decreasing number of ministerial candidates provided by the New England colleges, present some problems peculiar to themselves. These problems can be solved, but their best solution demands that the interests of no single institution shall be placed before the needs

of the denomination and the advancement of the Kingdom of God.

To sum up our conclusions:

In work: these four seminaries are systematic, thorough, comprehensive, but are not training the number of men demanded by the denomination.

Their needs: a larger measure of coöperation, of affiliation, adaptation to the present needs of the churches, constructive, modern scholarship, confidence and coöperation of the churches, and increased spiritual earnestness and power.

Their claims: upon the churches, insistence upon an educated ministry, acceptance of a scientific training, constructive criticism, and a full recognition that they are but the agents of the churches.

These suggestions are not revolutionary, but they are fundamental.

JAMES L. BARTON.

*Boston, Mass.*

# FIVE FACTORS IN THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

One of the most significant movements of this our new century is the work of the Southern Education Board. It would take long even to enumerate, much less describe and discuss, the various ways in which this agency has helped the South. It has collected, tabulated, and circulated the facts as to the actual conditions of the schools in that section; it has stimulated educational spirit; it has released many workers from the isolation under which they were struggling, bringing all into close fellowship and sympathetic union. As a result of such concerted action, it has imparted momentum to the whole cause of education; it has lifted the southern problem into the national prominence which it merits, and thereby brought to its solution the discussion of men of all parties and sections of our country, devoid of partisanship or sectional prejudice. It has made known the educational needs of the South, and has already given us a noble literature upon this subject. It has injected a real issue into southern thought and discussion. The only two vital issues since the war upon which the southern people have formed independent alignments are temperance and universal education. Inestimable is the advantage in a people's being forced to take sides against the saloon and for the school.

If, however, I were asked to name the most important feature of the work of the Southern Conference for Education, held annually under the auspices of this Southern Education Board, I should say that it consisted in making known to one another the men and women, north and south, who have the heart to deal with sectional affairs in a national spirit, regardless of politics or prejudices; men and women who love truth no less than service; who are moved to social endeavor by faith in humanity no less than by faith in Deity; and who find the particular method of work, in the actual conditions to be bettered rather than in

yielding to the blind impulse of fanatical ideals springing from passion or ignorance.

The Southern Education Board has led elect spirits north and south to enter into a solemn league and covenant in defense of truth, in resolution to forget the things that are behind, and in furtherance of a patriotism that is large enough to embrace all the interests of the various sections of our common country, however unlike those interests may be to the facts of one's own front yard. The "Ogden movement" is a national rather than an educational impulse. Hence the strength of the appeal it makes to the southern heart. Hence the sympathetic response which it has awakened in all sections of America. Hence its potential influence for good; for it relies on love and embodies sacrifice, the twin resistless forces of human progress. In proportion as chivalry in the South has sway, this movement has met with generous response.

Any helpful treatment of the negro problem involves three things. First, a firm grasp of certain general principles of justice, which may be regarded as axiomatic to all social progress. Secondly, a knowledge of the concrete conditions which one seeks to better. And, thirdly, a sagacious eye and a balanced judgment in the application of these general principles to the specific conditions or facts. I hasten to state that in no one of these three respects do I lay claim to any superiority over the average man in the South. But perhaps, just because my mind reflects the average opinion of the southern people, it may interest you and have value in determining your attitude and assistance in the working out of the important problem which engages our attention this evening. Important it certainly is. During the past summer, in various countries in Europe, no sooner did a person learn that I was from the South than he sprung the inquiry as to the presence of the black man upon our soil: "Are the negroes making progress? What about those terrible lynchings? Can democracy deal successfully with a problem so pressing as this?" Such were some of the questions put upon every hand, showing that the world is watching closely our handling of this most human issue, and is, to a certain extent, making racial adjustment a test of the real progress of republicanism

upon this virgin continent. Unspeakable responsibility, therefore, attaches to us in our attempt to solve this problem.

Here a reply must be made to two classes of people concerning the discussion of this matter. The one party demands that you let the negro problem severely alone. "Don't discuss it. Let it work itself out." The other party cannot touch these quivering issues without going into hysterics, and the hysterics may be due to either love or hate. The rational course, the imperative course, it seems to me, is to avoid indifference on the one hand and passion on the other. I should as soon trust to the waves and the winds to bring an Atlantic liner safely and speedily into port, as to expect that clashing social forces will of their own accord work out a solution of the negro problem. Its very intricacy, its supreme significance, only heightens the demand for calm discussion, for rational action, and for unflinching courage and faith in pursuit of the goal to which reason and conscience point the way. It would be hard to determine which works most harm in dealing with the negro problem — ignorance or prejudice.

Inscrutable as are many of the elements which enter into this problem, there are five which present themselves to view with some degree of distinctness.

### I. THE MORAL FACTOR.

The negro is by nature religious rather than moral. He is swayed by superstitious feelings more than by a pungent sense of right. Yet it must not be supposed that in his nature there is not the foundation for a firm morality. Some time ago two men were working inside an immense boiler in Indianapolis. One was white and the other was black. By some mischance the steam was suddenly turned on, and both men made a rush for the ladder leading to the manhole. The negro outran his mate and gained the bottom of the ladder, but, stepping aside, called out, "You go first, for you are married." The white man thus made good his escape, while the inrushing steam caught the negro. A more heroic act could hardly be recounted. I should like to see that negro's name in a Hall of Heroes, for "greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

The fidelity of the blacks to a trust has often been tested with

gratifying results. Witness their protection of the women and children of many a home in the South, during the Civil War, while father and husband were at the front. The past summer, in leaving our house for an absence of above three months, all was committed to the colored woman who has lived with us for years. Not a key was turned in a door; yet, upon our return, everything was in its place and she standing with open arms to greet the children. How many of you were in circumstances to do a like thing? When my mother, upon a recent visit to her old community, was suddenly taken sick, almost the first person to reach her, and the most tireless and delicate in her attentions, was "Laura," who, forty years ago, passed from the family into freedom. I never visit that community without paying an affectionate visit to this good woman, who seems to feel no less interest in each one of us than in those distant years before the war. Such instances, as you know, could be multiplied indefinitely. For a long period the janitor of the library at Richmond College was a colored man named Christopher West, who by reason of his intelligence and experience had acted practically as assistant librarian. When he resigned, about two years ago, Dr. Charles H. Ryland, the librarian, took occasion to state that for twenty odd years he had been thrown hourly with "Chris," and that during that time he had never known him to do or say anything unbecoming a Christian gentleman.

These shining examples are encouraging rather than typical. The great mass of the negroes are in a low state of moral development. To many of them religion has little connection with right living. What they need is not evangelization, but moralization. It is gratifying to report that progress in this regard is being made. There are excellent colored preachers who are inculcating sound morality in the members of their race. The various religious bodies of whites in the South are enlarging their plans for work among the negroes. One of these bodies, representing the white Baptists, has in the present year multiplied nearly seven-fold its appropriations to this cause — a sum still too small; but the ratio of increase is certainly significant. As a result of what the negro is doing for himself, of what the South is doing for him, and of what the North is doing for him, much

moral progress is being made. The same convention appointed a commission of one man from each southern state to devise means for improving the moral condition of the negroes and to formulate a policy of conciliation and coöperation. For the first time in its long history the Home Mission Board of Southern Baptists has this year a special secretary for work among the negroes. The gentleman selected for this responsible position is Rev. A. J. Barton, D.D., one of the most esteemed men in the southern ministry. He has entered upon his duties with commendable zeal, courage, and common sense.

Not all the facts, however, point to progress. Symptomatic are the nameless crimes that strike terror to the heart of every man. The lynchings which too frequently follow such fiendish outbreaks of passion throw a lurid glare upon abysses from which one would gladly turn away. No matter how strongly we may condemn lynching, it is impossible not to sympathize with a community that has been visited by such a calamity as the crime which in general leads to this manifestation of violence. Yet our sympathies must not becloud our judgment as to the course to be pursued in controlling nine million negroes and as a means of insuring social order, at once the product and pride of our Saxon civilization.

Lynching is wrong because it does not stop crime, because it brutalizes a community, because it sometimes confounds the innocent with the guilty, because it prejudices the world against us, and especially because it hamstrings the only power that can afford protection against such animal instincts in the millions of blacks dwelling among us.

We are governed not by law, but by respect for law. Impair this respect, and you dissolve the very bonds of our present social order. Strengthen this respect, and you increase the chances of social betterment and personal security. Law is the only restrainment to which we can look for safety, the number and the nature of the negroes being what they are. The only adequate force is law, a law that never sleeps, a law whose arm reaches to every nook and corner of the land, a law that is as inevitable in its operation as gravitation, a law that ennobles the innocent while it requites the wrongdoer, a law that is at once the symbol of civilization

and the guarantee of social progress. It is because I see the fearfulness of the risks to which we are momentarily subjected that I plead for this defense, alone efficacious. Violence cannot restrain passion. Violence is itself chaotic. Impersonal and impassive law entangles the wicked in its ubiquitous meshes without failure, feeling, or fear. Concern for my own wife and children make me urgent in suppressing lynching and giving efficiency to the sole agency which can cope with the anomalous conditions in which we live. If we cannot beget in the conscience of the negro a respect for law strong enough to keep him back from such diabolical deeds, then lynching marks only a step toward the final extermination which awaits him. The worst evil of lynching lies in the fact that it tends to destroy in the mind of this rudimentary being the necessary respect for law. Church, press, court, and school should do all in their power to quicken and strengthen, in white and black alike, a proper regard for law.

It has occurred to me that perhaps the plan of having mounted rural police in certain sections of the South would be wise, in spite of the additional expense which this would necessitate. We shall have to demand and approve resolution in the militia to resist mob violence, even if bloodshed is the result. In the panic of a shipwreck, sometimes the officers, in their efforts to save the lives of the passengers, are compelled to resort to drastic methods. If sixty people crowd into one lifeboat, a number that will carry it to the bottom as soon as launched, some of them must be transferred to other boats, even at the point of the pistol. Yet it is all in love and with an understanding of what must be done for the salvation of the passengers themselves.

### II. THE INTELLECTUAL FACTOR.

If it is unthinkable that one would try to erase the image of God in the soul of man, it is equally immoral to muzzle the mind through which divinity works. Better the fettered hand than the seared eyeball. If democracy means that every man must have a chance, to refuse education to the negro is to deny the sovereign principle of democracy. Negro education means more than erudition, — not a process of learning but of living. It means growth, which is biological rather than merely intellectual. Fit-

ness for life is the objective of any sound educational method. This is particularly true of the negro in his present association with the Anglo-Saxon. Hence the value attaching to such institutions as Hampton and Tuskegee, where the negro is trained in agricultural and industrial pursuits with a view to poise as well as power. Institutions of higher learning are, of course, necessary for the education of the leaders of the race.

The vastest educational experiment in the history of mankind is committed to the South. If we were face to face with a hostile army we should not hesitate to spend millions of dollars and thousands of lives in order to overcome that danger. Let us rejoice that in confronting the menace of the negro problem, a salutary, if not sovereign, force lies in education, the "still, small voice." The very complexity of the problem in the South should stimulate to the highest endeavor, so unique is the task that destiny has set for us. There are two tests of strength, the one to see how much you can push down, the other to see how much you can pull up. Let the latter be the glory of the Saxon in his superiority.

### III. THE ECONOMIC FACTOR.

If the moral factor is dependent upon the intellectual, so both of these are dependent upon the economic. There is no potency in dire poverty, no virtue in dirt. Home is the nursery of character and self-respect; but it takes money to make a home.

After some first-hand acquaintance with the economic conditions of other countries, I think that I can say that it would be hard to find anywhere else a peasantry that has so happy and favorable a lot as the negro in the South. Many discouraging aspects there are in the negro problem, I grant you — and I would not willingly blink one of them, crying peace when there is no peace — but in our perplexity we must not forget the encouraging features. How dark would the situation be if the negro were of a sullen, revengeful, and metallic nature like the American Indian, if he spoke a foreign language, if he were fanatically devoted to an alien religion, if he were by nature averse to farming and unsuited to domestic service, if he lived in a climate that did not invite to agriculture, if he did not enjoy the real affection

of his white neighbors? If these suppositions were true, then indeed the situation would be not only vastly aggravated, but hopeless. On the contrary, all of these facts are on the side of progress, conciliation, and reciprocal advantage to the two races dwelling upon the same soil.

When you reflect, the negro has splendid assets: first, in the warm climate of the South, inviting to out-of-door life, a fact which overcomes to some extent the effects of the unsanitary conditions too often found in his home; secondly, in a soil that yields large returns to little labor; thirdly, in the inherited kindly feeling of the white man for him. The negro's economic opportunity is bounded solely by his own capacity and character. Can you point me to another peasantry on earth where a man's career is to the same extent in his own hand? No vexatious restraints hamper the energy and enterprise of the black man in the South. As some one has well said, "It is true that in the South they will not let a negro ride in the white man's car, but in the North they will not let him build that car." In the South there is no prejudice against negro industry, but there is complaint of negro idleness. That is a cardinal fact in the present situation. If it ever becomes reversed, then the future will be overclouded. Reliability, thrift, and integrity on the part of the negro are prized by the white man.

Farming is the natural occupation of the southern negro. Seventy-seven per cent. of the negroes live in the country. What occupation is more honorable, useful, or more conducive to an independent, happy, and wholesome life? Of all careers, this is the elect one. Lands are cheap; the crops indigenous to the soil are easy of cultivation, requiring no unusual skill or insight; the fields are not sickly, nor unduly tax the strength of man, and can be worked successfully upon little expenditure of capital.

When a negro can own his home, field, garden, and stock; when he can, without cost, send his children to a neighboring school, where they will be taught the rudiments of learning and the dignity of work; when he has the full enjoyment of his religion; when he can have the confidence and esteem of his white neighbors; when he can have the protection of laws impartially administered; when he can share the stimulus of Saxon civiliza-

tion, his situation is surely not deplorable. And it is a sin against high Heaven to render it so by craving to be another somebody, or any attempt to draw Ulysses' bow, for which his hand may not as yet be ready. No situation is to be bettered by putting ignorance into the saddle, by giving the leadership to the blind. It is not even best for the would-be leader. "If the blind lead the blind, both will fall into the ditch." The supremacy of intelligence — intelligence interfused with humanity and self-sacrifice — is best for the black as well as the white; and this is the fundamental contention of the white man. Sometimes he states it in terms of the political, sometimes in terms of the social, and sometimes in terms of the racial; but under these varying forms he seeks to express the one truth that it is to the interest of both races for intelligence and virtue to be supreme. I am sure also that just in proportion as the negro exhibits these qualities, he will share in the burdens of the state.

While I have dwelt upon agriculture as affording the unique opportunity of the negro, it must be understood that many other careers are freely open to him, as domestic servant, carpenter, mason, porter, miner, teacher, physician, banker, merchant, and preacher. Among his own race of nearly ten million beings, the trained negro has a rare opportunity to develop himself and at the same time to serve his fellows.

These three factors in the negro problem — the moral, the intellectual, and the economic — offer little trouble. About them there is practical agreement both by the South and the North, by whites and blacks. All, I take it, concede that the negro must be granted the right of moral, intellectual, and economic well-being. To assume any other position is to deny human nature to the negro, to degrade him to the level of the beasts of the field, and, in essence, to wish his extermination from the earth. Fortunate, then, is it that three out of the five factors are plain and in a fair way of settlement. No matter what difficulties the other two factors may present, let us take heart from the acknowledged simplicity and workability of these three, which are fundamental.

IV. THE SOCIAL FACTOR.

Here for the first time we meet with serious division of opinion. But I fancy that the disagreement is due in great measure to the fact that the one party asserts social equality as right under ideal conditions, and the other party avows that social equality under actual conditions in the South is impracticable and impossible. In such a contest, perhaps a fair-minded judge would be inclined to believe that as both parties are of the same Saxon race, both intelligent and professing virtue, the one on the ground probably knows more about the matter. And I suspect that the judge is right.

To the average southern white man the social segregation of the races is not a proposition that admits of debate, whether you regard solely the well-being of the white, or solely the well-being of the black. Self-respect, amity, economic coöperation, moral development, and all the nameless sanctities of life demand social segregation. Yet please bear in mind that the colored nurse sleeps beside my child; that the colored servant is welcome at family prayers; that many a white woman visits the home of sick or needy colored people; that many a white man teaches a negro school; that many a white minister preaches upon occasion to negro congregations. There is far more good feeling between the races than perhaps you suspect. With the real negro the South gets on tolerably well; with the ideal negro the South seems to have a hard time.

V. THE POLITICAL FACTOR.

Politics has been the bane of the black man, as all begin now to see. He has been made the sport of the demagogue, and the habitat of the demagogue is not confined to any one section of this land. Reason and conscience are the prerequisites of suffrage. Avoirdupois, age, and human nature are not enough. A vote must represent manhood rather than man.

There is a dual political solidity at the South — democratic solidity of the whites, and republican solidity of the blacks. This unfortunate opposition has added partisan passion to racial prejudice. It has done more than that. It has brought the white man

into bondage to the demagogue, who has made white votes by unmaking black ones. When the negro advances in intelligence (not smartness, but wisdom), and when party lines are again based upon political and economic issues, I am inclined to think that it will be easier to work out a proper adjustment of the political forces in the South. The negro today is paying the penalty of political immaturity upon his part and of benevolent ignorance upon the part of his friends. The South does not wish to exclude from the suffrage a respectable negro, having sound judgment and patriotic character, and resolved to cast his vote according to principle rather than party. Illiteracy, inexperience, and partisan servility are not the best ingredients out of which to make a ballot.

The first three factors which we have considered are necessary; the last two are negligible, especially as good feeling exists without social equality, and as many intelligent negroes vote in every southern state. Shall we fail to rejoice in the mellow light of the full moon, simply because we know that three-sevenths of the surface of that orb are hidden from our view?

A northern white man who has taught for twenty-nine years in a colored school in the South assures me that he has met but two or three negroes in the whole course of his experience that really desire social equality. Let us take the accent off the social and political and redouble the emphasis upon the essential factors of the negro's well-being. It is far more important just now to take the saloon from him than to give him a ballot. It is more important to afford him a suitable school than social equality. We have fought over fictions; we have too long neglected facts. We have magnified the things wherein we differ, and minimized the things wherein we agree.

You have seen in the Luxembourg the marble group of the paralytic and the blind, who combine their sight and strength to their mutual progress. How foolish if each were to spend his time in chiding the other for his defects! Or how foolish for either to boast of his superiority to the other! No, the right relation is one of mutual helpfulness. And when each has combined with the other whatsoever powers he possesses, then both advance joyously and safely on their way.

Not long ago a Finn came to my study, telling me that Russia's cruel absorption of his native land had transformed his countrymen from nationalists to internationalists, as they believe that only the growth of world-sympathy with the oppressed could redeem them from the low estate into which autocracy had dragged them. Signs are not wanting that racial difficulties are leading the South slowly to rise from Saxonism to humanity. The glory of strength is self-restraint. Transcendent will be the praise of the Saxon if, in the final day, the negro shall hail him with the words, " Thy gentleness hath made me great."

S. C. Mitchell.

*Richmond College, Va.*

# Book Reviews.

## BEARDSLEE'S KING OF TRUTH.

A new force has come into Sunday-school impulse and methods in Professor Beardslee's course of lessons on "Jesus the King of Truth," with the prophecy of another course to follow on "Jesus the King of Love."

This little volume breaks with nearly all the customary ways of teaching a lesson. There is no leaflet *out* of the Bible: scholars and teachers must have the Bible itself. Here are no "helps" of the usual sort for the lazy teacher, no prepared questions, no illustrations ready made, no pictures, no critical data, no connecting story printed for a hasty Saturday night preparation or outlined for further investigation. Here is none of the affluence of outside material, so helpful to some teachers, so confusing to others. But here are three pages and a half only to a lesson for a teacher's quickening, and a single card for a pupil; compacting in stimulating data of thought and impulse, first, an outline; second, "Just what to do" on a single unified topic, based upon a Gospel passage. In a chronological sequence thirty lessons in Christ's life and teaching, bearing upon the spiritual and ethical problems of Truth, as seen in Him, are presented, with a rare blending of the doctrinal and ethical aspects of truth "as it sings and shines in Jesus Christ." These living Gospel scenes are chosen because, as the author says, "They are the real Biblical units. They move along the open plains of familiar things. They guide to profound and fundamental verities. They are all astir with life." The method is "realistic." The writer aims first to kindle the teacher, to set his own heart "athrill," to catch the power, the energy, the voice of what he calls "these little Gospel dramas." He believes that then your class will kindle, and they will feel "the glory, the solemnity, and the friendliness of the King of Truth."

To accomplish his purpose he puts a small book in the teacher's hand, and a briefly outlined card into the scholar's hand for previous quickening. The teacher's handbook selects the two, three, or four main points in the lesson numbered, and under each

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Jesus the King of Truth, by Prof. C. S. Beardslee, D.D. The Hartford Seminary Press, pp. 130, 85 cents.

a few pregnant points alphabetically indicated, and at the end he adds a number of "Just what to do" points, chiefly pedagogical and often profoundly so, but with no pedagogical terminology. The outline for the scholar is simpler, and the point of view is often varied from the teacher's to that of the scholar. Passages of Scripture for memorizing, on separate lines of thought, are suggested. The statement of the themes is concrete, and exactly tells the *intent* and *accent* of the lesson rather than its mere *content*. Truth or Trust Assailed means The Temptation. Truth in a Racy Dialogue means Jesus at the well. Befriending Outcasts is the central idea of Mark 2: 13-17. Telling Painful Truth is Christ's prognostic about his death. Proving an Innocent a Criminal tells how men crucified the Truth. And so such topics as Facing Scorn, How Truth Emancipates, Facing a Lying Verdict, How to Foil Sly Friends, are taken up in this fresh, crisp way of telling the familiar scenes of Christ in his relation to the eternal and yet daily practical revelations and tests of Truth.

But the practical distinction of this course of lessons is that it is designed to make teacher and pupil *think*. This book does not do our thinking for us. It will not be at once a popular course on this account. It is a sort of John the Baptist book, voicing a new way. Lazy teachers will not want it. The author evidently has an ulterior purpose more important than the sale of the book, — to shake us out of an overfed, dependent mood, and to make us gird our sinews of thought and purpose to some clear, vital end. He practically tells us on every page, yet without saying it as a cold pedagogical principle, that the two prime factors of good teaching are spiritual insight and earnestness. To see in or, rather, into the heart of a scene, or a truth, just what it vitally and practically means, and then to be dead in earnest to make others see it — that is teaching. And to accomplish this spiritual and yet concrete thing, he seems to say that you must *think,* and that this is more important in the brief half hour of contact than to learn all about the historical or critical, or even doctrinal, environment of the event or the setting of the truth. Now to do this the author must be suggestive rather than exhaustive. He must lay aside some of the rich and technical scholarship in which he might revel to exploit his own learning, or to show his own well-posted conclusions. He does nothing of the sort. You are impressed by the fact that a learned mind is bent upon spiritual fruitage, and that a man who could write a commentary would much rather make you do some commenting yourself. To this end he packs in points innumerable, but they are often exclamation and interrogation points rather than full-rounded paragraphs

ending in a conclusive period. He tries to paint a picture, to make you see a dramatic situation, to open this or that window to Truth, to suggest this foundation of Truth, to stimulate this application for Truth, if you can only see it. To the easy-going reader it is almost aggravating that he does not explain himself more, that he is not more discursive; but that is only because, as teachers, we are accustomed to have our lesson helps do much of the thinking and Bible reading and practical work for us. Many will say that the book is too abrupt a break with old methods; that a little more gradual change would have been more politic, at least, and more helpful, too. But however that may be, Professor Beardslee chose for tonic and impress the method which most accentuates the thing which he believes the true method. Teaching involves *thought* and *insight* translated into *will power* for truth. The qualities of his style are a reflex of these evident aims. It is vigorous, aphoristic, epigrammatic. There is hardly a long sentence in the book. In our judgment, its monotony of short sentences somewhat detracts from the end in view. They sometimes weary you and give the mind unaccustomed to close thinking too little help to be truly enlightening. And yet this rhetorical peril is overcome to a great degree by the subject and unity of the lesson. Every short, sharp sentence tells upon some one prime thing. And the enthusiasm and earnestness which pervade the whole carry you along. You feel the teacher trying to make you see what he sees. Such phrases as these occur continuously: "think," "now grapple this," "study this with all your skill," "imagine," "make your scholars see this scene," "tell how," "show up," "handle this," "observe," "work this up," "see," "here is food for thought," "now be careful!" etc., etc. This book is in itself a teachers' meeting with Professor Beardslee a teacher of teachers. A marked characteristic of the style of this scholarly mind is his freedom from technicality. There is hardly the faintest odor of a theological seminary about it. Instead he has a plain, practical, everyday, candid language which is notable. He also abounds in words not usually found: hie, con, dub, etc. His use of familiar language occasionally leads him into a phrase like "now mind your eye," which verges upon a grotesque suggestion. There is nothing in the preface to indicate for what grade of scholars this book is meant. But there is in it such a blending of plain language, clear, simple, and unified theme, with profound thought and mental quickening, that any grade of earnest and thoughtful pupilage might adopt it.

The method and content of this course will recall us to the great object of Sunday-school work. A former day made a some-

what shallow and emotional use of the lesson. At present the trend is toward instruction *about* the Bible and its content in a somewhat cold and merely scholarly regimen. We are hoping much, too, from the new pedagogy and its psychological "point of contact." This trend is important and vital. But here comes along a little book which recalls us to the *prime* purpose of teaching: to get at the will of the pupils, not through merely pious appeal, nor through intelligent knowledge only, but through the teacher himself — thoughtful, spiritual, earnest. Such a teacher will use all the critical data available and all the pedagogical principles verifiable. But the letter will never make a *teacher,* upon whom the vital working of any system depends, without spiritual insight and unified and earnest aim. Mechanism can never work vitally without motive. Teacher and scholar moved by Truth, and moving to do something about it, seems to be the keynote of this important contribution to our great and difficult Sunday-school problem.

ALEXANDER R. MERRIAM.

## HALL'S ADOLESCENCE.

It seems hardly necessary to do more than call the attention of our readers to the fact that President G. Stanley Hall of Clark University has finally issued in book form his researches in the field of adolescence. President Hall has for many years lectured before popular and scientific audiences on different phases of this theme, and his views have become in a general way widely known, especially as concerns their bearing on methods of education, both religious and secular. In fact, he has so far succeeded in calling attention, through his public utterances and as editor of the "American Journal of Psychology" and of the "Pedagogical Seminary," to this topic that it has hardly escaped the peril of becoming a fad.

In these two sumptuous volumes is brought together an enormous mass of material which is simply invaluable to those who would take up the careful study of this subject. Moreover, the matter is so classified and indexed that the work becomes a veritable encyclopædia of adolescence, as respects its history, facts, and theory. It is, of course, dominated by the author's evolutional psychology, and his intense antipathy to the philosophy of the chair leads him to speak pretty savagely of "these sedentary and mentally pampered thinkers" who "need the cheap

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Adolescence. Its psychology and its relations to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion, and education. By G. Stanley Hall, Ph.D., LL.D. New York: D. Appleton & Co., pp. xxii, 589; vi, 784, $7.00.

artificial confirmation of epistemology in order to face life with resolution and enthusiasm." Good Bishop Berkeley might well be a little startled to have his investigations into the virtues of tar water characterized as "ephebic dreamery." And those who have troubled themselves to become familiar with what our theological schools are doing will surely be astonished to learn that it is characteristic of our modern American "seminaries for the training of clergymen to neglect and even suspect the study of nature, as if God were a hypocrite and did one thing in his works and said another in his word."

It is partially unjust to put in quotation marks only words from the preface, for President Clark's temper has evidently here warmed him to the point where he must blow off steam. And yet it is true that the temperamental pressure that in the preface shrills through the safety-valve is at work all through the book, conditioning conclusions and molding the form of facts. Dr. Hall has done to our generation a magnificent service in calling to attention the enormous significance of a period in the life of men and women which the generations before us have fatuously ignored. He has put within reach the material for an intelligent grasp of the phenomena of adolescence and has given many wise suggestions for guidance in making use of this knowledge in the training of youth. For all this we would make most unstinted and appreciative acknowledgment. He has laid fine foundations, and he has built thereon not only gold, silver, precious stones, but also wood, hay, stubble. His work will be made manifest through the fire of criticism and in the light of experience.

ARTHUR L. GILLETT.

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Professor Sayce's *Monument Facts and Higher Critical Fancies* is a popular epitome of the contents of his larger work, "The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments." Those who are familiar with this earlier work will find nothing new or striking in the present treatise. The author's purpose is to show that the conclusions of the modern scientific study of the Old Testament are overthrown by the facts of archæology. What he wishes us to accept in the place of higher criticism he does not tell us. He evidently does not expect to see a return to the traditional standpoint, for he himself thinks that the Old Testament books are composite, and that some sort of analysis is necessary to a correct understanding of their meaning. Apparently he believes in a compromise between the traditional and the critical conceptions of the Old Testament. On the literary side he would follow higher criticism, but in the dating of the documents he would uphold the traditional theories.

Professor Sayce begins by discussing the antiquity of literature, and calls attention to the familiar fact, which no higher critic has ever doubted, that writing was known in Babylonia and in Egypt thousands of years be-

fore the time of Moses. From this he infers that it was possible for Moses to have written such a book as the Pentateuch, and that therefore he must have written this book. The whole critical conception of the Pentateuch rests, he claims, upon the proposition that writing was not known in the age of Moses, and that, therefore, he could not have written anything. Once establish the existence of writing, he says, and all reason for denying the Pentateuch to Moses ceases.

It does not take much logical training to see the weakness of this argument. To prove that Moses might have been familiar with writing is no proof that he actually wrote. Writing is understood today in Syria and in Egypt, but the Bedawin who roam on the borders of these countries are entirely ignorant of letters. What reason have we for supposing that the wandering tribes of Israel before they entered the land of Canaan were any more familiar with writing than are the modern Bedawin who dwell in the same regions? The modern writing of Syria and of Egypt is in the same language as is spoken by the Bedawin, and yet they do not learn writing. How much less likely is it that the early Hebrews should have learned to write either the Babylonian or the Egyptian system of hieroglyphics. The history and the legislation of the Pentateuch are intensely national, and would have been useless if cuneiform or hieroglyphics were employed, as these could not be understood by the mass of the people. Even granted that Moses may have understood hieroglyphic writing, there is no probability that he would employ it for recording Hebrew legislation for a people who were unable to read it. The discovery of the Tell-el-Amarna letters, written by paid Babylonian scribes, is no evidence of a wide knowledge of cuneiform in Palestine, and affords no support for the theory that Moses was familiar with cuneiform, or would be likely to use it in writing for the nomadic Israelites. Proof of the antiquity of writing has no bearing whatever on the authorship of the Pentateuch, unless it can be shown that a system of writing adapted to the Hebrew language was in existence in the time of Moses, and that the nation was sufficiently educated to make it worth while to use this system for recording its history and its legislation. Neither of these propositions has been established by archæology. Professor Sayce knows perfectly well that no alphabetic system of writing such as is fitted to the Hebrew language is found before 1000 B.C. Many mounds have been opened in Palestine, and in the lower strata monuments set up by Egyptian governors and letters written by Babylonian scribes have been found, but not one scrap of alphabetic Hebrew writing has ever been discovered prior to the time of the entrance of the Hebrews into Canaan. These facts are entirely in accord with the conclusions of the higher criticism, that the narratives and the laws of the Pentateuch were originally handed down by oral tradition, and that they were not committed to writing until some time after the establishment of the kingdom. Instead of overthrowing the conclusions of criticism, therefore, all the archæological facts thus far secured tend strongly to support them. When Professor Sayce can produce written Hebrew as old as the time of Moses it will be time enough to talk about archæology supporting the traditional theory of the Pentateuch, but the existence of writing among the Babylonians and the Egyptians no more

proves that the primitive Hebrews must have written than the existence of writing in America proves that the North American Indians must all be writers of books.

The second main contention of Professor Sayce is that the Babylonian story of the flood is parallel both with the J and the P version of the flood and that, therefore, the analysis of these two sources is an impossibility. But everyone admits that the Babylonian narrative is much older than anything in the Book of Genesis, and if the Babylonian narrative is the original, nothing is more likely than that two Hebrew writers should both be familiar with it and should both preserve certain elements of it, so that when they were put together they should give us more of the original narrative than either would give separately. Even if his argument were valid in the case of the flood story, it would have no bearing upon the analysis of other parts of the Pentateuch that rests upon independent evidence.

The third main contention is that the 14th chapter of Genesis can be shown to contain accurate information about early Babylonian times, and from this it is argued that the whole of the Pentateuchal history must be regarded as trustworthy. The weakness of this argument is that the 14th chapter of Genesis bears the clearest evidence of being an independent document of different origin from all the rest of the sources of the Pentateuch. Proof of its historicity, therefore, is of value only for itself and has no bearing upon items drawn from different sources.

In Chapter V, Professor Sayce comments on the parallels between the recently-discovered Code of Hammurabi and the Pentateuchal legislation, and argues from the many parallels to the high antiquity of the Pentateuch; he fails, however, to mention that the parallels are all found in a limited portion of the Pentateuch, Exodus xxi-xxiv, the so-called Book of the Covenant, which higher criticism has recognized from the start as the oldest portion of the Hebrew legislation. Proof of the antiquity of this code does not carry with it the antiquity of other laws that belong to independent strata of legislation. Chapter VI on the Geography of the Pentateuch shows that the Pentateuch is correctly informed in regard to the geography of the Egyptian Delta, but contains no evidence that this information was accessible only to Moses or to a contemporary of the Exodus.

Chapter VII on the Hebrew and Babylonian Cosmology shows that knowledge of the Babylonian cosmology must have penetrated the land of Canaan at a very early date, but furnishes no evidence that this knowledge must have been committed to writing at the time when it was first received.

The last chapter on the Doctrine of Religious Evolution has no bearing on the subject of the testimony of the monuments and, accordingly, we neeed not delay to consider it. There is nothing in this book that has not been answered long ago in the masterly article of Professor Driver in Hogarth's "Authority and Archæology." It is hard to see how Professor Sayce can repeat in this work the baseless assertions of his earlier book, without even taking notice of the numerous refutations of his position that have already appeared. (Revell Co., pp. 127. 75 cts. net.) L. B. P.

Professor Flinders Petrie's new book on *Methods and Aims in Archaeology* supplies a long felt need. There have been plenty of books on the

discoveries of archæology and on the historical significance of these discoveries, but there has been no treatise, so far as I am aware, on the practical methods of conducting an excavation. Every explorer has had to elaborate a new method for himself. He might gain some hints from the published reports of earlier explorers, or from private consultation with them, but there was no manual that he could consult in an emergency. Such a manual Professor Petrie has provided in the book under discussion. He has shown himself one of the most successful and most practical of British archæologists and he has had many years of experience in Egypt and in Syria; everything, therefore, that he has to say is well worth listening to.

He begins with a discussion of the necessary qualifications of the excavator. These are possessed by Professor Petrie himself, but they would be difficult to find in any other man. The excavator must possess an iron constitution so that he does not hesitate to stand for hours up to his neck in water copying an inscription. He must be able to handle pick and shovel as well as any of his workmen, and must not be afraid of heat, cold, or malarial fever. He must understand all the languages that he is likely to meet in the course of his excavations, and must speak the modern language so well as to be able to dispense with the assistance of an interpreter. He must be an expert engineer, chemist, draughtsman, and photographer, and above all he must have a fine tact in dealing with men that enables him to make friends with his workmen and to identify them with his interests.

The second chapter tells how suitable sites for excavation may be discriminated by surface indications; how the age of remains may be provisionally ascertained by fragments of pottery and style of building. The third chapter is devoted to a discussion of the best way of managing the individual laborers; the relative advantages of men, women, and boys for various kinds of work and the best methods of supervision and of paying. In all this Professor Petrie shows a wealth of experience that is exceedingly entertaining. I quote a couple of extracts which will show how practical his advice is:

"When working by the day it is needful to give the signals for beginning and stopping work, and to insist on regular and continuous digging. It is impossible to be known to be away, as then no work will go on effectively. An air of vigilant surprises has to be kept up. A sunk approach to the work behind higher ground is essential; and, if possible, an access to a commanding view without being seen going to and fro. A telescope is very useful to watch if distant work is regular. At Tanis the girls in a big pit were kept by the men walking up and tipping baskets at the top, but the telescope showed that the baskets were all the time empty. The immediate dismissal of fourteen people was the result. A telescope will also show if a boy is put up to watch for the master's coming. Various approaches should be arranged from different directions, and the course of the work so planned that no men can give notice to others. In this way a pleasing group of musicians and dancers may be found in the excavations, where picks and baskets are lying idle, and the arrangement is closed by asking the boys to dance on their own resources, and the transfer of your pay to other pockets. The need of thus acting as main-

spring, without which the work goes on at an official pace, is wearing and time-wasting, and it leaves no chance of doing writing, drawing, etc., during working hours."

"Having now noticed the men who are required, something may be said of those who are not required. The dealer and the spy are a constant plague. No man must be allowed to loaf about the work or to lie watching it from a lookout point. And any troublesome men are best dealt with by taking shoes or headshawl from them and offering to send the clothes to the man's sheikh to be returned to him. To get them he must give his name and the name of his sheikh, and that no man will do, as he can then be dropped on by the police in future. Not a single loafer will ever give his name and sheikh, and so they are kept well at bay by confiscating clothing or tools. Once I took the donkey of a troublesome man who had fled from me, and gave it up to his sheikh, who came to intercede next day. Doubtless it had to be redeemed by some blackmail to the sheikh, and the needful lesson was taught. Dealers are incessantly trying to get at the men, daily at wells or as tobacco sellers, and weekly in the market, and so any unexplained persons who are seen about should be moved on and kept at a distance."

Further chapters discuss in turn the best methods of excavating different kinds of sites, the best methods of keeping records, of copying, of photographing, of preserving objects, and of packing. There are many tricks of the trade in all these matters that the novice learns only through long practice. In these exceedingly practical hints of Professor Petrie he will find a short cut to knowledge. The suggestions here given will also be of value to museums and private collectors. The last four chapters are devoted to a more scientific discussion of the methods of drawing conclusions from archæological evidence. In this also Professor Petrie shows himself a master, and his discussion is a valuable contribution to the literature of systematic archæology. (Macmillan, pp. 193. $1.90 net.) L. B. P.

There is probably no part of the Old Testament that stands in such need of true interpretation as Genesis. As the first book of the Old Testament Canon, and as the one that tells in a wonderfully fascinating way the beginnings of things, its stories are, perhaps, better known than those of any other book of the collection. They are the stories that fasten themselves in children's minds, they profoundly influence the formation of conceptions concerning God and man and religion, and when one's traditional faith in Genesis is destroyed there is a real danger that his faith in the Bible and in Christianity will sooner or later also disappear. Now the simple fact is that modern critical investigation and archæological discovery have made it impossible for the traditional views concerning Genesis to be maintained any longer. Does this, then, mean that Genesis has lost its significance or value? The layman might be tempted to answer yes and take the consequences. But from the point of view of true criticism no such answer is necessary. It is still possible to say that while the viewpoint is changed and Genesis has become a different book its original significance and high value is now more clear than ever before. The book or books that will show this to the world, to the uninitiated but earnest Christian men and women, both young and old, who ask for the truth — these are the books

that will do a great service. *Early Hebrew Story,* by Dr. John P. Peters, is just such a book by a thoroughly competent hand. It is a distinct contribution to the literature of the subject, not because it contains anything particularly new to those familiar with criticism, but because it is one of the very rare books that set the whole matter before the Christian public in a frank, open spirit and in a way that is constructive and positive. In an introductory chapter in which the literary and archæological aspects of the problem of Genesis are set forth the basis is laid for a full and impartial general treatment of the contents of Genesis. Here Dr. Peters follows an order which he believes to be the order of origin, in Israel, of this material. The traditions concerning the tribes and the formation of the people are first discussed, then the traditions concerning the patriarchs and shrines. These originally separate traditions or stories were finally brought into the order and given the significance we now see them to have in Genesis. But Israel had a dim, unknown past, and the world in whose midst it lived also had such a past. Survivals of these previous ages, legendary and mythical, were a part of Israel's thinking, and these, with an ancient cosmogony and primeval history, not all unified into one harmonious whole, gradually took definite shape as the stories of beginnings that form the introduction to the more specifically Hebrew part of Genesis. Naturally in such a discussion the author gives his view on many points which are still open to discussion. The reader as well as the expert may or may not agree with him. That is a minor matter detracting in no way from the value of the book. We hope that this little work will become widely known. Properly used it can only be helpful to a true interpretation of Genesis, the book Franz Delitzsch, after a life study, called the most difficult book of the Old Testament. It may be added that the substance of this work was given in lectures on the Bond Foundation at Bangor Seminary in November, 1903. (Putnam, pp. 308. $1.25 net.) E. E. N.

Courses for independent work in Sunday-schools are sure to multiply now. Among the many efforts, the promoters of "Constructive Bible Studies," who are connected with the University of Chicago, appear to be laying elaborate plans. They have projected to work under three divisions, the Elementary, the Secondary, the Adult. These divisions are further subdivided into seven, six, and five grades respectively. And now they publish as a text-book for Grade 4 in the Elementary Division a volume entitled *An Introduction to the Bible for Teachers of Children,* from the pen of Georgia Louise Chamberlin. The material appears to be closely based upon actual experience in the Sunday-school of the Hyde Park Baptist Church, Chicago. The course is extremely broad and general, trying in forty lessons to cover the entire Bible. It is intended to aid teachers of children who are just able to read easily. Something of an idea may be gained of its nature from the fact that Paul's Epistles are the theme of a single lesson, Job of another, Jeremiah of another, Jesus and his enemies of another, Moses and the Exodus of another, etc. The work is done in fine spirit and with evident sense of the nature of the task. Fine touches of real teaching are evident all through the book. But one is also impressed with the immense difficulty of the task undertaken. (The University of Chicago Press, pp. xxxviii, 206. $1.00.) C. S. B.

A handful of books on Missions in the Far East gains interest from the history which is being made today in that part of the world, for missions and history belong together — in fact, it is not at all clear that Missions do not make history, and a better kind of history than does war. At least these books show changes in social life going on quietly during the past years, which are of more significance for the nations involved than all the shifts in maps that even such a war as the present one can bring about.

The books are not of equal merit, nor of the same importance. Miss Miner's *China's Book of Martyrs,* Mr. Headland's *Chinese Heroes,* and Mr. Ketler's *The Tragedy of Poatingfu* cover the terrible months of the Boxer revolt. They are records that need to be read by the church at home, that she may know the spirit and strength of the heroes she sends to her far-away work and be thankful for their service while she is inspired by their sacrifice. At the same time these books are only passing pictures of individual devotion and loyalty to the great work.

Of broader view and more comprehensive instruction is such a book as Graham's *East of the Barrier,* which gives us as fine a review of missions in Manchuria as it has been our good fortune to see. It is full of just the sort of information that people at home need to have, and no better textbook on the problem of Chinese work in general could be put into the hands of candidates for that field. It is written with a sanity of view that is refreshing.

Equally illuminating and with a fascination of its own is Roberts's *A Flight for Life,* which gives an account of the escape of the Kalgan missionaries and their accompanying party across the Gobi Desert to Siberia and Europe. Its details of Mongol life and customs is of high value for those who may labor in that great and necessitous mission field. They give one some idea of the almost hopeless extent of the field and the seemingly insuperable difficulties in its occupancy. Naturally the difficulties were at their height in the troublous time of Boxer hostility, during which the journey was made, but even apart from this special stress of feeling one can see the greatness of the task involved in taking the religion of Jesus to the people of this desert land. Incidentally it is well worth while to read the fair estimate which the author gives of Russian character in general, and of Russian friendliness to Americans in particular. A journey through Siberia now might reveal a different temper toward our country. To the reading public of Hartford this book by one from their own city comes with special interest.

We wish we could say as much for Dr. Alice Condict's *Old Glory and the Gospel in the Philippines* as we have for the books already mentioned. This is evidently the work of one who entered upon that new service with a considerable amount of sentiment and who has recorded her impressions in a disjointed and not always instructive way.

In addition to this group, dealing more specially with China and its affiliated missions, should be named Mrs. Curtis's *The Laos of North Siam,* which gives us a beautiful picture of that relatively unknown land of the tropics, with a most excellent review of its mission history from the beginning. With the recent French appropriation of the Siamese territory

east of the Cambodia River, and the great changes which must come throughout China as the result of the present war, it is of considerable moment that we should know of the evangelizing work which has been so faithfully done in this hidden home of the Shans, and of the opportunities which the doing of it presents to us for the future. (Westminster Press: "Book of Martyrs," pp. 512, $1.50; "Siam," pp. xix, 335, $1.25. Revell: "Poatingfu," pp. 400, $2.00; "East of the Barrier," pp. 235, $1.00; "Old Glory," pp. 124, 75 cts. Eaton & Mains: "Chinese Heroes," pp. 248, $1.00. Pilgrim Press: "Flight for Life," pp. 402, $1.50. All prices net.) M. W. J.

The prevalent interest in things Japanese makes the issue of Professor Frederick Starr's unassuming account of *The Ainu Group* at the St. Louis Exposition most timely. As the prefatory note warns us, this is only "a simple narrative of my journey in Yezo and a description of the group of Ainu brought to this country." But as the story is from the pen of an experienced anthropologist, it has value beyond what its size and scope might lead us to think. In describing how, through the potent assistance of the English missionary Rev. John Batchelor, the writer was enabled to secure welcome and trusting coöperation in several Ainu villages and to execute the unparalleled achievement of bringing four typical men, the wives of three of them, and two little children to this country, a multitude of useful observations are made upon the character, customs, implements, and racial affiliation of this simple but curious people that are full of interest. He concludes, as is now becoming the established opinion, that the Ainu are of the same general branch of mankind to which we belong — "a white race that has struggled and lost!" a little fragment "broken and submerged by a great flood of active yellow Asiatics who pressed eastward from their old home, perhaps in Mesopotamia." A special interest in the study arises from the fact that in the heart of the Ainu country is Sapporo, where the Hartford missionary George M. Rowland, '86, has long been stationed. (Open Court Pub. Co., pp. 118. 75 cts.)

Sir William Hunter is the best authority on the history of India, and his great work in many volumes must be consulted by everyone who wishes to study carefully into the problems of Indian history. This work, however, is too elaborate for the ordinary reader, and, accordingly, a brief abstract of its contents has been prepared by the author, in which the main facts are presented in a small volume of 244 pages entitled *Brief History of the Indian Peoples.* This epitome has shown itself so useful that it has reached the 23d edition and the 89th thousand. The present edition has been carefully revised and brought down to date. It contains the figures of the census of 1901 and an account of the Coronation Darbar in 1903. Although so condensed it is still interesting reading. For one who wishes to get a bird's-eye view of the history of India which may serve as a background for the study of missionary work in that country there is no better book of reference. (Clarendon Press, pp. 244. 90 cts. net.) L. B. P.

The organization of the Christian Church in the primitive age has long been and still is a subject of sharp controversy. The number of modern books dealing with the question is legion. A year ago Dr. T. M. Lindsay

published an able work on "The Church and its Ministry." And now we have *The Church and its Organization* from the pen of Walter Lowrie. Our author calls his book an interpretation of Sohm's *Kirchenrecht,* and he is, indeed, for the most part, content with expounding his master's theories. Mr. Lowrie prefaces his work with a historical introduction to the literature of the subject, and ends by stating the theories of Rothe, Baur, Ritschl, Lightfoot, Renan, Hatch, Harnack, and others. He then treats his main theme under three general heads: Idea of the church, assembly for instruction, and eucharistic assembly. Our author is, of course, a stout champion of Sohm's thesis that there can be no legal organization of the ecclesia. He weakens, however, when he comes to treat of order and custom in the church. "The pervading custom of the church, whether at this moment or at any time in the past, must possess a high authority — and a purely objective authority — for any one who is conscious of the unity of the church's life in Christ." "Marked divergences of order and custom are intolerable (?), because they discredit the belief in the divine guidance of the church" (p. 179).

But some customs, which even Mr. Lowrie would condemn, have, at different times, prevailed in the church. On what grounds would our author condemn them? Why should diversity in the order and customs of the church discredit divine guidance, when diversity is everywhere characteristic in the great universe of God? The fact is, Mr. Lowrie argues on both sides of this question. There must lurk somewhere a dogmatic presupposition to occasion this discrepancy. If our author had not been "in haste to print" he would have freed his book from this inconsistency and other like crudities. His work contains nothing particularly new, not even Sohm's theory, which Mr. Lowrie assumes to be almost wholly unknown to English scholars. A second edition of the "Church and its Organization" will very much improve the work. It would, in fact, have been wiser to have deferred publication until the subject could have been wrought out with more cogency and consistency. The world can get on for a few years, at least, without another hasty attempt to explain the church's origins. Longmans, pp. 402. $3.50. E. K. N.

The story of Congregationalism in this country is so largely and inextricably inwrought into the history of New England that any attempt to set it forth must necessarily involve the restatement, to a considerable extent, of what is not only the most interesting and romantic, but also the most oft-repeated chapter of our national history. In New England the heuristic problem — that rock upon which the hopes and purposes of so many would-be historians have come to grief — offers fewer difficulties than are to be encountered in any other portion of America; for this, and other reasons even more obvious, it has always proved an especially attractive field for historical scholars, and, as a natural result, the literature relating to it is especially copious. The primacy of religion as a controlling factor in the early life of New England, and the long and almost exclusive sway of the Congregational polity, are facts which conspire to emphasize the unique importance attaching to the history of American Congregationalism. It is gratifying to reflect that the importance of the subject has never been obscured by any dearth of scholarly interest. Congregationalists possess a

larger literature than any other American religious body, and no other has had its history so satisfactorily told. So ample and thoroughly excellent from every point of view is the work of two recent writers, Dr. Henry M. Dexter and Professor Williston Walker, that the announcement of a new history of Congregationalism compels the feeling that a supererogatory labor has been wrought. Nevertheless, *The Congregationalists,* by Dr. Leonard Woolsey Bacon (Story of the Churches Series), is far from a superfluous piece of work, and chiefly for the reason that it is less a history than a fresh and interesting historical study in which the author's own views — which, by the way, are not always the commonly-accepted views — are set forth with a degree of assertiveness rarely employed by the historian. A decided lack of sympathy is manifested for the Congregational theory of a "regenerate" church membership, as the theory was held and practiced in the early churches. The author's preference for the more inclusive theory of the Presbyterians is brought out with no slight degree of emphasis in his discussion of the "Half-way Covenant." No discrimination is made between the "Half-way Covenant" as drawn up and adopted by the Synod of 1662 and the same instrument as subsequently modified in the practice of a large majority of the New England churches. The author here misses a very important distinction. It was the "Half-way Covenant" diverted from its original design, so modified and loosely administered in the actual usage of the churches as to resolve it into a meaningless formality, that had such a palsying effect on the spiritual life and energies of the age. We cannot share the author's confidence that "the dullness and coldness of the churches . . . might have been in some measure happily relieved by opening the gate and admitting" such quasi-members "to the responsibilities and privileges of brethren." The failure of this volume to conform to the general plan laid down for the series will render it all the more useful and acceptable to Congregational readers, whose acquaintance with the main features of Congregational history is everywhere tacitly assumed. We heartily commend Dr. Bacon's little book to all who are sufficiently familiar with the history and theory of Congregationalism to follow its discussion with intelligent interest, and who, at the same time, possess such independence of judgment as would prevent the unquestioning acceptance of every conclusion drawn. (Baker & Taylor Co., pp. 280. $1.00 net.) S. S.

Many who read the interesting articles in the "Congregationalist" on *Henry Ward Beecher as his Friends Saw Him* will be glad to see these papers in a book form. Drs. Abbott, Hillis, Gunsaulus, and Dr. Devon of England, Mr. John Howard the publisher, Mr. Raymond, Mr. Bok, and others make the contributions. Only one who has looked up the bibliography of Beecher realizes how comparatively little there is available. This book is not only of great interest in itself, but it adds a much-needed volume to this list, which ought to be still further lengthened. We trust the enterprise of the "Congregationalist" in this reissue will be abundantly rewarded. (Pilgrim Press, 1904, pp. 135. 75 cts.) A. R. M.

The great fame of his son has somewhat obscured the name of Henry Ward Beecher's father, *Lyman Beecher.* But probably the father was as

potent a force in his generation as the son in his. The Pilgrim Press put forth a new life of the elder Beecher at the same time that they republish the "Congregationalist" articles on the younger. It would be a fine enterprise if we could have from the same house biographies of other great evangelical leaders in such brief and admirable form as Mr. Edward F. Heywood here presents. The public is familiar with the Life edited by his children, which is one of the standard biographies. This work of Mr. Heywood is rather an appreciation than a life, and yet is sufficiently full of data to enable us to follow the chief steps of his career and influence. The chapters which will most interest the reader today are those speaking of Lyman Beecher as Reformer and of his personal characteristics. Some capital anecdotes and sayings have been gathered near the close of the book. (Pilgrim Press, pp. 114. 75 cts.) A. R. M.

Mr. Frank Ballard is to be congratulated on the fact that his *Miracles of Unbelief* has gone through five editions and is now put forth in "popular" form from the plates of the fifth edition. The cheaper, but still excellent, paper and binding make a reduced price possible. Reviewing the book in the RECORD for May, 1901, it was said: "We feel sure that many who had felt their faith shaken by the assumption of superior logical consistency so common to the upholder of unbelief will receive no little strengthening from reading these pages." The success of the book has evidently justified this judgment. (Imported by Scribner, pp. xxviii, 382. $1.00.) A. L. G.

Dr. Franklin Johnson's book on *The Christian's Relation to Evolution* is designed to raise the question of gain or loss to the Christian through the adoption of an evolutionary philosophy. The author is conscious, as are most of us, that evolution philosophy has made claims for itself that are at least generous, and he raises the questions whether the gains are so great as supposed and whether the gains that are claimed are really the exclusive product of the causative efficiency of evolutional thought. The excellence of the book lies in its exhibition of the fact that many of the gains that are supposed to come from evolution, in distinction from any other philosophical view, are due to a misunderstanding or misrepresentation of the view evolution is supposed to supplant. The consequence is an over-accenting of the influence of one factor in producing the newer and approved ideas. On the other hand, there is sometimes manifest a narrowness in apprehending the evolutionists' spirit which not infrequently leads to the very kind of inadequate representation which the author deplores in others. On the whole it is a book of considerable value. (Revell, pp. 171. $1.00 net.) A. L. G.

Some books written with good intent, pervaded by a reverent, earnest spirit, are nevertheless so thoroughly useless because based upon wrong methods of investigation that one finds it a difficult and unpleasant task to pass judgment upon them. The condemnation of the method and its results is so easily taken as a condemnation of the author's individual religious convictions. The *Old Testament Doctrine of Salvation,* by Professor Kerswill of Lincoln University, is a study in Biblical Theology. The

general position taken is perfectly correct, namely, that the Old Testament represents men as "saved," brought into real union with God and enjoyment of His grace by simple, direct means without any direct reference to a future atonement. But the method of investigation is such as to make the book perfectly useless. If this book follows a correct method, all that has been written and discovered along scientific lines relating to Old Testament criticism and literature might as well be relegated to the ash heap. For Dr. Kerswill it is of no significance whatever and he makes no use of it. Moses is still, to him, the author of Genesis, the "Sons of Elohim" of Genesis vi are the line of pious Sethites, the serpent of Genesis iii was the agent of the Devil, intended to be understood as such by the writer, the chronology of Genesis is taken as scientific truth. Moses was "reared upon the rigid code of Old Testament morals." God really walked in the garden in the cool of the day because it was "the evening, the friend of meditation, the hour of solemn deliberation, when men's thoughts run slow." How such an inference can be drawn from the narrative is not very evident. Eve, when she said "I have gotten a man, Jehovah" (sic), expressed a profound truth regarding the "dual nature of the Saviour to come." Grammatical and lexical laws have no terrors for Professor Kerswill. The "splendidly resonant word Jehovah" is much to be preferred to any modern "heathenlike sound." The meaning of Exodus vi: 3 is "but by my name Jehovah was I not known to them?" The above citations reveal the book. We might imagine, were it not for the date and imprint, that we were reading a long-lost treatise of Origen or some other of the ancient allegorical school. (Presby. Board of Pub., pp. 215. $1.00 net, postage 7 cts.) E. E. N.

Another volume has been added to Dods and Whyte's Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students — a work by Rev. D. M. Ross of Glasgow on *The Teaching of Jesus.* The work is a very brief, even rudimentary, statement of things easily obvious. And yet the study is deftly adjusted to things and situations now current. Under the lead of Baldensperger the author has paid good heed to the conditions surrounding Jesus, as he undertook his work. He shows himself aware continually how matters stood. But he always breaks from Baldensperger when estimating Christ. He sees the Master to be always transcendent, true Son of God, always standing without a peer as Teacher and Helper of men. His relationship to Wendt is quite similar, conspicuously respectful, but also free. These traits give the work a fine excellence. But all is so abbreviated as to be painfully meager, almost lean. And yet it is well fitted to be a rarely helpful handbook for any who will truly heed what it says and for verification delve deeply and constantly in the Gospel accounts. (Imported by Scribner, pp. 212. 60 cts. net.) C. S. B.

In *The Parables of the Way,* by a Rev. A. A. Brockington, we are given a very suggestive comparative study. The aim is to show that there is a fundamental unity between the Beatitudes of Matt. 5: 3-12 and the twelve Parables of Luke 9: 51 — 19: 11. The study is really not so "fundamental" as it is superficial. Repeatedly the comparison is fanciful, far from obvious and sure. There is a proneness to allegorize. But for all

that the book is worth while, if only to set an earnest scholar to making corrections and doing better. For it is sure that the Master's Beatitudes and Parables are fundamentally at one. And he who can make that deep, inwrought relationship open and distinct and sure will do a noble deed. (Longmans, pp. xii, 95. $1.00.) C. S. B.

As an aid to Bible study the Oxford University Press has published a curious assemblage of "things every reader of the Bible should know." It is a whimsical collection — largely tables and lists, as of coins and months and parables and such like, to the extent of thirty-four pages. It is called *The Sunday-school Scholar's Treasury.* C. S. B.

*Bible Study Popularized* is a sizable volume by Rev. Frank T. Lee, containing a very simple and modest unfolding of the Bible just as it stands, with a large number of hints for study and preaching, such as are the most obvious and feasible — all being conceived and offered after traditional fashion, no hint or suggestion being given of new adjustments and dispositions and examinations in the flooding light of new research. (Chicago, The Winona Publishing Company, pp. 315. $1.25 net.) C. S. B.

A volume of well-digested thought and experience is painfully rare — especially in the Sunday-school field. One such well-digested book is worth a ton of the other type. Dr. George Allen Hubbell's *Up Through Childhood* is such a worthy book. With a most grateful confidence one may apply to this work the following adjectives: It is earnest, with a strong man's full life; it is tenderly sensitive to real conditions, with a watchful man's multiform, living experience; it is frankly honest, with a free man's well-poised courage; it is expert, with a scholar's keen-sighted research; it is simply plain, with the genuine love of a genuine friend; it is nicely poised, with gentle heed to the balanced wealth of a healthy child. Well would it be every way for our Sunday-schools if all teachers in it would hold the volume open upon their laps all the winter through. And well would it be if all our superior religious guides could be won to read three times thoughtfully Professor McMurry's three-page Introduction. And well would it be if all who pose as proudly or disdainfully aware of all the values of the pedagogic art would unfold to their own well-fixed attention the implications of the author's inscription to his "mother, my first and best teacher." It is with peculiar pleasure that one notes that the author is now vice-president of Berea College. The book is outlined under The School, The Teacher, The Learner, The Graduate. In every part it breathes a fine, keen religious appreciation. The author is wittingly working in and for the sweeping range and solemn realities of eternal life. (Putnam, pp. xvi, 303. $1.25 net.) C. S. B.

In the space here at command it is impossible to present an adequate review of the new *Pilgrim Hymnal,* since adequacy in hymnal criticism involves many statistics and much citation of details. The importance of this volume, however, both in itself and as the publication of our denominational publishing society, calls for more than cursory notice.

The book is evidently the fruit of careful study and great labor. It

is a sincere and earnest effort to supply what its editors themselves want and what they conceive many of our churches want. It purports to represent the desire of a large number of persons, as explicitly indicated in reply to a list of questions or otherwise. As a document of reference for measuring the trend of thinking about hymns on the part of many it will be invaluable. Its thoughtful prefaces (of which there are really two), its fine indexes and many details of editorial technique are excellent, so that as an addition to a pastor's library it is very much to be commended. Whether or not it is to be regarded a success as a congregational manual depends upon one's point of view.

The plan of the book is deliberately and widely different from that generally in use in our churches. The number of hymns is cut down to less than 550, so that, with one exception, it is the smallest collection of its class in the last twenty-five years. We fail to see why this was not joined with a reduction in the physical bulk and weight of the book. Nothing is gained except that there are fewer pages and less on them. Reducing the contents simply means excluding from the user's view and from the possibility of use large numbers of hymns and tunes that are now in use, for the selection proves to include many hymns and tunes that are novel. There is a vigorous effort to omit whatever uses the terminology or reflects the special thought-attitude of the past, in favor of that which is deemed more in harmony with the present. It is claimed that the book is specially strong in hymns of action, service, and aspiration as against those of reflection, assertion, and even of adoration, at least so far as the latter strains of expression are thought to be over-dogmatic or old-fashioned.

There are about 275 hymns that have appeared in all or nearly all of the important hymnals of the last quarter-century. Of these, the present book omits about 125. The reasons for this drastic exclusion can be guessed in many cases, whether wise or not. But many other cases remain that are not obvious. Of course hymns of the eighteenth century are bound to suffer, especially those of Watts and Wesley. But the earlier nineteenth century list is almost equally invaded. Of the eleven omitted hymns that no recent editor has seen fit to discard the most noticeable are

| | |
|---|---|
| A charge to keep I have, | Wesley. |
| Christ the Lord is risen today, | " |
| O Jesus, King most wonderful, | Caswall, tr. |
| There is a land of pure delight, | Watts. |

Of the twenty-two omitted hymns that only one recent book has skipped we miss such as these—

| | |
|---|---|
| God is the refuge of His saints, | Watts. |
| God moves in a mysterious way, | Cowper. |
| I'm but a stranger here, | Taylor. |
| O for a thousand tongues to sing, | Wesley. |
| O Paradise! O Paradise! | Faber. |
| Pleasant are Thy courts above, | Lyte. |
| Safely through another week, | Newton. |

Among the twenty-seven omitted hymns that but two recent books have left out it is surprising to miss such as these —

| | |
|---|---|
| Bread of the world, in mercy broken, | Heber. |
| For thee, O dear, dear country, | Neale, tr. |
| Hark! my soul, it is the Lord, | Cowper. |
| Stand up, my soul, shake off thy fears, | Watts. |
| The Head that once was crowned with thorns, | Kelly. |
| Weary of earth and laden with my sin, | Stone. |
| When I can read my title clear, | Watts. |

In the next lower class are thirty-five omitted hymns, of which the more notable are —

| | |
|---|---|
| Hark! the sound of holy voices, | Wordsworth. |
| I love to steal awhile away, | Brown. |
| My God, how endless is Thy love, | Watts. |
| One sweetly solemn thought, | Cary. |
| Our Lord is risen from the dead, | Wesley. |
| The spacious firmament on high, | Addison. |
| Ye servants of God, your Master proclaim, | Wesley. |

In a still lower class, and yet found in three-quarters of all recent hymnals, missing favorites include —

| | |
|---|---|
| I was a wandering sheep, | Bonar. |
| Jesus, my Lord, my God, my all, | Collins. |
| Jesus, Thy name I love, | Deck. |
| Round the Lord in glory seated, | Mant. |
| Saviour, blessed Saviour, | Thring. |
| See, the Conqueror mounts in triumph, | Wordsworth. |
| The Lord is King! lift up thy voice, | Conder. |
| Thus far the Lord has led me on, | Watts. |

We have no doubt that every one of these hymns was carefully considered and that their exclusion was for definite reason. We are not disposed to stand for any one of them as absolutely indispensable, even though in the above list are several that we have been wont to regard as the finest of their respective authors. But the heaping of omissions together is astonishing for its indifference to the continuity of liturgical usage and to the deep-rooted affections of a large body of our people. Of the hymns in three-quarters of current hymnals this new collection retains only 54 per cent., and of those in half of such hymnals it retains only 38 per cent. If this is right, several previous editors, supposedly careful, must have been very wrong.

It is often said that our hymn-books ought not to be anthologies or charged with any special historic spirit, but simply present-day handbooks, providing only what we can make our own without effort of either memory or imagination. Few of our ministers and fewer of our people, it is thought, have much sympathy with the views and sentiments of many of their forefathers, and so it is futile to ask us to sing their songs with warmth. In many quarters there is a recoil from what is styled an anti-

quated dogmatism, especially as regards the person of Christ and the atonement, and a feeling that the contemplation of Him in His historic work *for* the world should give way to zeal in imitating Him by assiduous personal effort *in* the world. Hence a call for hymns of personal consecration and of practical enthusiasm. We are glad that the editors of this new hymnal have been sensitive to this call, and their effort to secure recent hymns and hymns on neglected topics will be of great service to special students and to future editors as well as to such congregations as decide to accept their book. Yet it seems clear that in the eagerness to make a small book and to crowd into it much that is new there has been far too great a sacrifice of the historic element and far too little sympathy with the variety of tastes and of needs. It is not necessary, nor is it to be desired, that hymns of activity and service should drive out hymns of introspection or even hymns in which the singer almost enunciates a creed. Zeal never endures or goes far without passionate inner experiences and deep-grounded beliefs.

The musical side of the book has been carefully considered, and the choice of tunes is on the whole thoughtful. Yet it is not clear that the standard of inclusion is consistent with itself, and the number of "arranged" tunes is surprising. We are bound to say, also, that the quality of the tunes specially written for the book is strangely poor. Numerous small points of editing arouse query, especially the failure in too many cases to transpose so as to avoid high notes, much inconsistency in the use of cancels, some positive errors that are inexcusable, and the choice of a font of music-type that has notes too black and large for the thin staff-lines.

The collection of responsive readings, confessions, and prayers that is appended calls for almost nothing but praise. It is finely conceived and wrought out with conspicuous ingenuity and good taste. We are glad to note that this is now accessible in separate form, and we feel sure that it will be widely adopted. (Cong. S. S. & Pub. Soc., pp. 604. 60 cts.) W. S. P.

These papers on *Preaching,* by Thomas McBride Nichols, have the mark of the journal rather than the classroom and are on that account the better for reading. They ought to be suggestive and stimulating to pastors. They were originally published in the "Presbyterian Journal." The author discusses the importance of preaching, the joy of preaching, qualifications for preaching — in which he says some good things — but the best part of the book is what he says specifically upon doctrinal, evangelistic, and expository preaching. Here he makes some fresh and practical remarks well worth serious consideration. (Presb. Board of Pub., pp. 74. 40 cts.) A. R. M.

Dr. William Hastie of Glasgow came upon a second-hand copy of a German book for sale by an itinerant vendor which proved to be what he considered a valuable treatise on Pastoral Theology. It was anonymous, excepting the indication contained that it was written by one of the Moravians or United Brethren. It is therefore an interesting work historically, and is pervaded by an elevated and practical spirit. It is not, however, of marked value to a pastor in our own problems of church life.

Dr. Hastie has translated and edited it under the title *Outlines of Pastoral Theology.* (Imported by Scribner. 75 cts.) A. R. M.

An English rector, Harold Fow, LL.D., has written a book on the *Decadence of Preaching,* in which he makes an indictment against the pulpit of our day and suggests a remedy. Much that he says has especial reference to the Church of England. He attributes decadence to a certain neglect of preaching as compared with liturgy; to what he discovers of inefficiency in preaching; and to the laxity of devotional Bible study. He aims to arrest this decline by urging a truer conception of the function of the sermon; by the consecration of the preacher's entire personality to the work; and by doctrinal study of the Bible. The lectures contain some good suggestions upon the message, the method, the delivery, and the effects of preaching. It seems rather alphabetic advice, and suggests that if the English clergy need some of the evident and familiar things he says to them, they must indeed have neglected their function of preaching. The lectures are full of good advice and are conceived in a very earnest spirit. They do not constitute, however, a marked contribution to sermonic literature.

The same author has two other books of much originality and full of helpful suggestion upon the art of public speaking, with special reference to the pulpit: *The Art of Extempore Speaking* and *The Principle of Oratory.* These brief and compact little volumes have some very practical things to say to speakers in reference to management of the voice and the acquisition of fluency, full vocabulary, mental vision, memory, association of ideas, etc. (Young Churchman Co. The first two 75 cts. each; the last 50 cts.) A. R. M.

It will be grateful news to the constituency of Hartford Seminary to know that Dr. Campbell Morgan's lectures on *Evangelism* have been printed. The book is dedicated to the Faculty and students of Hartford, Chicago, Berkeley, and Dayton Theological Seminaries.

Those who heard them will be eager to review the substance of his thought, while keeping in remembrance the inspiration of his presence. The five lectures are identical with those delivered here and it is needless to enumerate his topics. We wish to express again the high appreciation in which we hold both the man and his message. This book constitutes the most important contribution Dr. Morgan has made of late — even when bearing in mind the many and valued books he has been publishing. Hartford Seminary has been highly favored in having had the impress of his personality.

The deep regret we all feel in his withdrawal to London only emphasizes our thankfulness that we could have had him with us this last year, in the light of his experience and the fullness of his power. (Revell, 50 cts.) A. R. M.

In preparing the John Bohlen Lectures for 1904 Bishop Hall of Vermont chose as his theme *The Christian Doctrine of Prayer.* He urges, as his vindication for selecting so worn a topic, the hurtful and perversive influence of modern natural science on the one hand, and the claims and

practice of Christian Science on the other. The treatment offers nothing striking. It is throughout simple, earnest, sensible. The book is much enriched by its large number of choice excerpts from the words and writings of noted men. An appendix contains the passages in the New Testament concerning prayer, printed in full. (Longmans, pp. xii, 120. $1.10 net.) C. S. B.

If one seeks a devotional book, centering about the work of the Holy Spirit, fervid, tender, broadly appreciative, simple, well-poised biblically, aptly illustrated, and urgent, he may well procure *Quiet Talks on Power*, by S. D. Gordon. Revell, pp. 220. 75 cts. net.) C. S. B.

There is a crude impression today that preaching upon social questions is something brand new, and that hitherto the pulpit has been occupied almost entirely with doctrinal, experiential, and evangelistic themes. Men seem to have forgotten that Paul wrote concluding chapters to nearly all his great Epistles filled full of exhortations to personal and social graces; that Chrysostom took hold of ethical themes with the greatest vigor; that Savonarola was a prophet of civic righteousness; and that John Knox and Wesley helped redeem the society of their day by tremendous moral preaching. And now here comes a little book from the fourth century by Asterius, Bishop of Armenia, full of ethical vigor, for individual and social life. These sermons have been given the felicitous title of *Ancient Sermons for Modern Times*. They could well be preached in our own day. They seize upon the passing problems of the times and translate great Christian principles into practical righteousness in a spirit of blended fearlessness and tact. The sermons are quite free from the allegorizing tendency in treating Scripture so rife in the day of Asterius. They are preached, with one exception, without a specific text, though they evidently are based upon a Scripture passage in free exposition. The sermons have the true oratorical as compared with the essay style of writing; they are direct, ad hominem; use ridicule, reason, appeal, and illustration. This little volume furnishes incidentally a graphic picture of social life in the preacher's day: the same day that Chrysostom has disclosed to us. The few sermons selected for translation are: The Rich and Lazarus; The Unjust Steward; Against Covetousness; On the Festival of the Calends; On Divorce. We are under great obligations to Professor Anderson and Dr. Goodspeed for this contribution to our homiletic resources. (Pilgrim Press, pp. 157. 60 cts.)

Rev. James L. Hill has written a book describing *Seven Sorts of Successful Sunday Evening Services* which will be welcomed by all busy, earnest pastors. No problem is more difficult than the maintenance of the Sunday evening service. Mr. Hill has had wide experience of his own, and in addition has spent leisure time for a long period in studying by observation, by interview and correspondence the varied methods in use. He takes up seven types, shows the modus operandi, city pastors who exemplify the different devices, and discusses them pro and con. He designates the seven sorts as The Men's Sunday Evening Club Plan, The You and I Plan, The Musical Plan, The Lecture-sermon Plan, The Many

Hands and the Net Plan, The Spiritual Nature Plan, The Highways and Hedges Plan. It is impossible in a brief review to expand these chapters. Enough to know that such a book exists and that the data provided are from a wide field of inquiry, and that you may have the benefit of Mr. Hill's judgment and then make up your mind about the best method for a given locality. The book is breezy, stirring, far from conventional; and the author makes a popular and illustrative use of the bare facts he has been at such pains to collect. We are indebted to him for a valuable service to the churches. (E. B. Treat & Co., pp. 224. $1.00.) A. R. M.

The Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church is setting a worthy example to other similar Boards by its series of handbooks on the history of its missionary work in different fields. Two of the series of seven are just at hand, *Our Mexicans,* by Rev. Robert M. Craig, and *The Redemption of the Red Men,* by Belle M. Brain. Both should prove useful for mission study classes in all denominations. (Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, New York, pp. 101 and 147. 35 cts.) E. E. N.

# Alumni News.

*The* Record *will be especially pleased to receive from the Alumni copies of year-books, manuals, church papers, or other publications they may issue, as well as personal information respecting special phases of their work.*

## HARTFORD ALUMNI AT DES MOINES.

The reunion of the Alumni of Hartford Seminary at the meeting of The National Congregational Council at Des Moines deserves a word of special mention. The Council program was so crowded that it was difficult to secure a suitable time for such a meeting. The best time available was Friday evening, October 14th, after the Council session. At ten o'clock in the evening fifty-seven sat down to supper, and for two hours enjoyed a season of most hearty and spiritually uplifting fellowship. Chas. S. Mills, '85, of Cleveland, O., presided most admirably; President Mackenzie was heard for the first time by many present, and struck the note of spiritual serviceableness as the ideal for the Seminary development; Dr. Lewellyn Pratt of Norwich accented from the Trustees the thought of President Mackenzie. The Atlantic and Pacific coasts, in the persons of G. W. Fiske, '98, of Auburn, Me., and W. W. Scudder, '85, of Seattle, Washington, added their greetings to those brought by the chairman of the meeting from the middle West; Professor Taylor of Chicago, formerly of Hartford, spoke with a full-hearted brotherliness; and C. S. Nash, '83, of Pacific Seminary, uttered moving words of reminiscence, loyalty, and onlook. Two classes gathered more members than at any time since graduation. There were present eleven members of '98, and nine members of '85. One alumnus, graduating more than twenty years ago, expressed the general feeling when he said, "That gathering alone was worth coming all the way to Des Moines for."

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Augustus Alvord, '65, died at Springfield, Mass., on July 6th, 1904, aged almost seventy years. He was born at Bolton, Conn., on August 30, 1834, of the same family that sent an earlier student to Hartford Seminary. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1862 and came at once to the Seminary. He would have graduated in 1865 but for his entering the army in January of that year, first as a private and later as chaplain of the Second

Connecticut Heavy Artillery, in which position he continued till late in 1866. Beginning his work as a minister at Ridgebury, Conn., in 1867, he served churches in Massachusetts at West Granville, Prescott, and Monterey, and for eleven years was pastor at Barkhamsted, Conn., whence in 1903 he removed to Springfield. He was twice married, and is survived by his widow, one son, and one daughter.

At the annual meeting of the Franklin (Mass.) Conference on September 29-30 Dr. Lyman Whiting, '42, spoke on "The Main End and Aim of the Christian Ministry," and Frank N. Merriam, '91, on "The Need of Ethical and Religious Training in our Public Schools."

During the recent months we note the following calls, transfers, or other alterations in our Alumni record: Rufus S. Underwood, '68, will make his home at Springfield, Mass., instead of Longmeadow; Joseph C. Bodwell, '71, resigned his pastorate at Lyndonville, Vt., on September 1st after seventeen years' service; Leonard B. Tenney, '78, removes from Nelson and Harrisville, N. H., to Niantic, Conn.; Arthur Titcomb, '88, removes from Stewartstown, N. H., to Feeding Hills, Mass., for one year; Wallace Nutting, '89, resigns from the Union Church, Providence, R.I., on January 1st after a pastorate of ten years; Thomas C. Richards, '90, declines a call from Torrington, Conn., to the presidency of the Congregational College, Austin, Texas; Frederic M. Hollister, '91, removes from Cadillac, Mich., to Cromwell, Conn.; Stephen T. Livingston, '91, till this year professor in the Seminary, declines a call to West Andover, Mass.; Gilbert H. Bacheler, '97, declines a call from Buckingham, Conn., to Freewater and Ingle Chapel, Ore.; A. Ferdinand Travis, '97, removes from Kensington, Conn., to Hopkinton, Mass., and was installed on November 2d; William W. Bolt, '98, removes from St. Joseph, Mo., to the large Plymouth Church in Lawrence, Kans.; Edward W. Capen, '98, recently pursuing special investigations at Hartford under the direction of Columbia University, removes to Jamaica Plain, Mass., to undertake the History of the American Board to be issued in connection with its centennial in 1910; Malcolm Dana, '01, removes from Kingston, R. I., to Maquoketa, Ia.; Louis A. Goddard, '01, removes from Somers, Conn., to Redding in the same state; Henry K. Hawley, '01, removes from Sloan, Ia., to Cooperstown, N. D.; Herbert L. Packard, '02, declines a call from West Brooksville, Me., to Bristol in the same state; Herbert L. Mills, '03, removes from the Cherry Hill and Parkvale churches, Omaha, Neb., to the Hillside Church in the same city.

Recent arrivals of Hartford missionaries in this country include Lyman Bartlett, '61, from Smyrna, Albert W. Clark, '68, from Prague, Franklin S. Hatch, '76, after three years in India, and William H. Saunders, '80, from West Africa. The recent departures for the foreign field include George M. Rowland, '86, for Sapporo, Japan; Frank A. Lombard, '99, to be Dean of the Doshisha, Japan; William A. Mather, '99, and Mrs. Mather, '99, for Peking; Gilbert Lovell, '03, and Mrs. Lovell, '04, for North China; Charles A. Stanley, Jr., '04, for Foochow; Charles K. Tracy, '04, for Smyrna; and Ernest A. Yarrow, '04, for Van.

The Park Church in Springfield, Mass., celebrated its fifteenth anniversary on June 28th, which was also the fifteenth anniversary of the ordination of its pastor, John L. Kilbon, '73, as well as his birthday. The same day Oliver W. Means, '87, was installed over the Emmanuel Church in another part of the same city.

The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred at the commencement season on George M. Rowland, '86, by Middlebury College and on Henry Kingman, '87, by Colby University.

W. N. P. Dailey, '87, is completing his first year with the Trinity Reformed Church at Amsterdam, N. Y. The church is prospering greatly, as it occupies alone a large residential section of the city. Mr. Dailey is now secretary of the General Alumni Association of Union College, as well as of his class.

The following marriages have occurred recently among our Alumni: Frank W. Hazen, '97, of Meriden, Conn., to Miss Mary C. Paddock of North Craftsbury, Vt.; Edward W. Capen, '98, of Jamaica Plain, Mass., to Miss Lydia E. Sanderson, '98, of Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.; William A. Mather, '99, of the Presbyterian Mission in North China, to Miss Grace Burroughs, '99, of Morristown, N. J.; H. Philip Patey, '01, of Roxbury, Mass., to Miss Harriette M. Lane, of Keene, N. H.; William L. Wilkenson, '02, to Miss Emily F. Harvey of Hartford; Gilbert Lovell, '03, of the Presbyterian Mission in North China, to Miss Florence E. Bell, '04, of Grove City, Pa.; Irving H. Berg, '04, of Watervliet, N. Y., to Miss Bessie H. Arthur of Brooklyn, N. Y.; Charles S. Gray, '04, of Wilson, Conn., to Miss Della B. Wilson of Neshanic, N. J.; Richard S. M. Emrich, '04, graduate student in the Seminary, to Miss Jeannette Wallace of Saxonville, Mass.; Charles A. Stanley, Jr., '04, of the Foochow Mission, to Miss Louise C. Hathaway of Marietta, Ohio; Charles K. Tracy, '04, of the West Turkey Mission, to Miss May B. Sherman of Norwich, Conn.; Philip C. Walcott, '04, of Hartford, to Miss Benedict of New York city; Ernest A. Yarrow, '04, of the East Turkey Mission, to Miss Martha J. Tuckley of Oneonta, N. Y.

In the class of 1904 the following additional ordinations are to be noted: James S. Clark, July 29th, at Hardwick, Vt.; Clayton J. Potter, July 5th, at Lenox, Mass. (with installation); Charles A. Stanley, Jr., at Keene, N. H.; Bertram A. Warren, July 1st, at Winnebago, Ill.; and Ernest A. Yarrow, July 7th, at Rutland, Vt. Messrs. Stanley and Yarrow were ordained for service under the American Board. The former, with Mr. Warren, took only a part of his theological course at Hartford.

# Seminary Annals.

## OPENING OF THE SEVENTY-FIRST YEAR.

The regular session of the Seminary opened Wednesday evening, September 28th, with an address by Professor Mitchell on "Signs of the Times." In this he first developed, from Scripture and from history, the right and duty of the minister truly to discern present conditions and rightly to interpret them, and then, after calling attention to certain conditions in present day thought, exhibited their parallels in the early history of the Church, and pointed out the value of the past in interpreting the present. The attendance at the beginning of the year was about the same as last year.

The new year was made notable by being the first whole year of President Mackenzie's presence with the institution. The mood of buoyant gratulation, which on this account characterized the opening weeks of the term, was sadly checked when on November 16th it was announced that, following a few days' illness of President Mackenzie, conditions had become manifest that necessitated a serious operation. This was successfully performed on the day following by Dr. Richardson of Boston. At the time of going to press all the indications point to a favorable recovery. The week past has been necessarily of grave anxiety; but we are able to thank God that so far all has gone well with the President, who has so soon endeared himself to the whole Seminary constituency, and that there is warrant for believing that it is God's will to preserve him for further service. At the best it will be some weeks before Dr. Mackenzie is again able to resume his duties.

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Willis R. Hotchkiss of the Friends' Mission, Kavironda, British East Africa, spent October 3d and 4th at the Seminary. He is at present one of the secretaries of the Student Volunteer Movement. In an address to the students, Mr. Hotchkiss gave illustrations of his work for the wild tribes northeast of Victoria-Nyanza. He closed with a most effective appeal to seek a field for ministry where there is the greatest need, and he urged against being content with the place of convenience.

On October 7th and 8th the annual meeting of the Connecticut Valley Student Missionary Conference was held at Amherst, Mass. The chair-

man for this conference was Fred F. Goodsell of the Senior class in Hartford Seminary. Under his direction the executive committee, representing fourteen schools and colleges, made efficient preparation for the gathering. Over three hundred and fifty delegates were present, sixteen of these being from Hartford Seminary.

The program was a remarkably strong one, opening with an address by President William Douglas Mackenzie upon "The Christianizing of the World." On the following day various mission fields were presented — India by Rev. C. A. R. Janvier and Rev. E. S. Hume, and Africa by Mr. Willis R. Hotchkiss. The Student Volunteer Movement was represented by General Secretary F. P. Turner. The closing address of the conference was given by Mr. Robert Speer.

General Exercises. — October 12, summer experiences narrated by Messrs. Young, Rogers, Thompson, and Weidman; Professor Merriam presided. October 19, sermon, Willis L. Gelston; devotional service conducted by Messrs. Forté, Middlemass, and Huntington.

Officers of the Students' Association elected May, 1904, are as follows: Fred F. Goodsell, President; E. K. Jordon, Vice-President; H. I. Gardner, Secretary. Messrs. Silliman and Jordon were elected Stewards for the coming year.

The Rev. W. J. Dawson of the Highbury Church in London, England, addressed a large audience in Hosmer Hall Chapel the evening of November 1st. Dr. Dawson laid great stress upon his conviction that the church today should not regard evangelism as an activity for unattached and uneducated men. The subject of Dr. Dawson's address was thus, "The New Evangelism." He argued that the evangelistic tone should mark all the preaching of today, in order that the whole ministry may share in that supreme work of the church — the salvation of the lost.

THE

# HARTFORD SEMINARY RECORD

VOL. XV. NO. 2 — FEBRUARY, 1905

[Entered at the Hartford Post Office as Second Class Matter.]

Published quarterly on the 1st of November, February, May, and August. Subscription price, $1.00 per year, in advance. Single copies, 30 cents. Remit to order of HARTFORD SEMINARY PRESS, Hosmer Hall, Hartford, Conn.

EDITORIAL BOARD: — Professor Arthur Lincoln Gillett, Professor Waldo Selden Pratt, Professor Charles Snow Thayer. *Associate Editor:* — Stephen van Rensselaer Trowbridge. *Business Manager:* — Willis Lord Gelston.

Cardinal Newman never uttered a truer word than when he said "First teach men to shoot round corners and then you may not despair of converting by a syllogism." No one has yet learned how accurately to translate the syllabic language of the intellect into the ideograph of character. The thought of Socrates is most grotesquely transmuted into the life of Alcibiades; the simplicity of Jesus into the sincerity of Loyola. It is not necessary to go far afield to be satisfied that thoughts which logically ought to direct conduct to certain ends simply do not do it. The corollary of the proposition is equally true — it is impossible to deduce from conduct the intellectual conclusions of an agent. Saint and sage refuse to become convertible terms.

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Professor Osler's much discussed Ingersoll lecture on Immortality in one of its most striking sections draws the conclusion that the grossness, selfishness, and cruelty of modern society and statecraft make it plain that the belief in immortality is, in the present day, only faint-heartedly held. For if men believed in immortality they would live as in the presence of eternity. Yet nobody will assert that the twelfth century civilization, in purity, nobility, and serviceableness of life, surpassed that of the twentieth, even though Bernard of Cluny's hymn "Jerusalem the

Glorious" doubtless expressed the conviction of the Christendom of the time; and there is little doubt but that the England at the beginning of the eighteenth century, in spite of its social and political rottenness, believed with Watts that "There is a land of pure delight where saints immortal reign." The ultimate, and most disagreeable fact is that men do not live up to their ideals. They are not what they know they ought to be.

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Arguments like Dr. Osler's apply to the belief in God equally with the belief in immortality, and no less to the validity of ethical requirements. The psychology of an up-to-date American is not so different from that of the Romans to whom Paul wrote and from whose self-consciousness he anticipated an affirmative response when he said, "The good which I would I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I practice." It seems to require some social or individual experience of a peculiar sort to make the presence of immortality and God supremely near and vividly vital. Neither individual nor national prosperity seems to supply that experience. Prosperity, be it said to the shame of our common humanity, tends to self-sufficient contentment; not to gratitude. This frame of mind does not intensify that sense of dependence out of which the religious life has flowed. Jeshuran, grown fat, kicks through all the ages.

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It was some years ago that the sainted Alexander Mackennal, in all kindliness of spirit, bewailed the prosperity of America. And yet is it not possible that gratitude may somehow be given such a quality and raised to such a power that from it may blossom a beautifully intensive sense of the nearness and the reality of God? Must it be true that the gracious arbitrariness of the Spirit that bloweth where it listeth is so conditioned that only he who listens in the night time can hear? Can it be true that such a spontaneous manifestation of the Spirit's power as has been discerned in Wales, in the midst of fierce religious testing, is impossible in favored America? We should be reluctant to believe it. We would pray that it may not be so. We would hopefully trust that a grateful people may here prepare a highway for the Lord.

# THE PROBLEMS OF MUHAMMADANISM.

*Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:*

In the great disadvantage which must accrue to me — high honor though it may also be — in following the most eminent living authority on the civilization of Islam, there is at least one point of help. I need not spend time now in demonstrating that Islam is an essential unity and that it is practically impossible to separate the history of its religion from any other element in it. The whole social complex in all its manifestations is religious and the religion of Islam is Islam itself. We must frankly accept this and state our subject, not as any impossible questioning on the history of a religion in our narrow sense, but as a consideration of the problems as to the history of the Muslim organism which still are left unsolved.

Nor need I lay stress on the comparative impossibility of even this subject in the time at my disposal. Problems are still thickly sown in the path of the investigator of Islam. Not simply details are undeveloped; broad trends and movements remain unconditioned and inexplicable. The student finds an abundance of concrete facts — reputed and otherwise — but working hypotheses, not to speak of demonstrable and demonstrated systems by which these facts may be criticised, correlated, and explained, are conspicuously lacking. Often the presumed facts even fail him. They are still buried in Arabic sources awaiting the special and rare genius which can recognize them and bring them forth. Such Arabic sources, too, are so far only in part accessible. Of those which survived the storm and stress of the middle ages, the raids and conquests of Timour and Chingiz Khan, the unending civil conflicts of the Muslim states, a comparatively small, though rapidly increasing portion has yet attained to print. All

* A paper read before the International Congress of Arts and Sciences at St. Louis, on Sept. 23d, 1904, in the Section on Muhammadanism. It followed immediately a paper by Prof. Goldziher of Budapest, on the results so far reached in the study of Islam.

these elements in research, the disinterring of MSS, the presenting them to the world of scholars, the examination and study of them for materials and the final rearing of the lofty historic structure, philosophizing and conditioning movements and rendering intelligible events — all these elements and processes are still backward to a degree; and the last, it may safely be said, has hardly yet begun. Dr. Goldziher, if he will permit me the reference, has given us volumes full of the richest materials for such a history, opening up and illuminating dark places and driving shafts where none had gone before; if we understand the development of Muslim jurisprudence, the system of Muslim tradition and the essential outlines of Muslim theological strife, it is due to him. But we still look vainly to him for that great history of Muslim thought and institutions which only he among living men can write.

Permit me then, as that book is not yet before us, to suggest some few of the darknesses in which we still move. Thereafter, I will go on to state what is for me the central problem of all Islam, a problem absolutely unsolved and seldom fully stated.

Of these minor obscurities, some of the thickest cluster round the very beginnings and pre-natal conditions of Islam. No one has yet made plain to us the different ferments working then in heathen Arabia. We know that Christianity, Judaism, Zoroastrianism and various phases and degrees of idolatry were there. But — to take Christianity — we do not know with any precision what sects and forms of Christian thought had occupied the desert, what hold they had there taken, to what degree, if at all, they were genuinely Arabic in language and not rather mere outliers of the great Syrian church. To take Zoroastrianism, it is only of late that the extent of its hold on southern Arabia has become plain, and its influence on the thought of Muhammad and the vocabulary of the Qur'an a possible hypothesis. To take primitive Arabia — how far had it reached the conception of the one, absolute Allah, the Ilāh, God Most High? In a word, how far was Muhammad's Allah pre-Muhammadan and Muhammad himself an exhorter on things known but despised?

And when we come thus to Muhammad himself, the prob-

lems only thicken. Lives of him have been written in abundance, greatly imaginative for the most part, but it is hardly credible that we have not yet any systematic theology of the Qur'an, only investigations of specific points. Even a modern commentary on the Qur'an is lacking, largely, perhaps, because the labors of the Muslims themselves have been so great that they are not yet digested. Its most multifarious vocabulary, too, has been attacked at many points and with many theories, but an adequate lexicon of it remains a task for some future scholar. It will be for him to weigh the influence of Syriac, Greek, Ethiopic, and Persian words and ideas on the language and thought of the desert and the brain and imagination of Muhammad, ever greedy of the strange. And later, too, when the early Muslim church was striving with the contradictions and obscurities of that Qur'an — knotted and twisting as Muhammad's own mind — and there were developing in that church the fundamental theological conceptions of Islam, we know little what were the stranger influences upon them by which they, in great part unconsciously, were swayed. Murmurs we hear of John of Damascus and his school of theology, the Euchites and the Hesychasts, the pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and Stephen bar Sudaili drift dimly across the stage. That the Christian *logos* doctrine is at work becomes certain, and Christian conceptions of the ascetic life, in spite of the denunciations of Muhammad, sway Islam as they had swayed heathen Arabia. But how these worked, what precise kinship of doctrine they produced, what was the extent of their influence, what the place of that influence and its πού στῶ — none has yet arisen fully and clearly to answer these questions.

And why it has been so is simple enough. The man who studies Arabic and its literature has small leisure for anything else. Yet Arabia through all this period through which we have run calls for scholarship of the most varied character. He who would study the pre-Muslim times must know the theology of the early Syrian church in all its welter of sects and heresies; he must be able to detect the influence of Judaism and discern its precise kind and phase; he must be able to disentangle from the old Arabian poems all their religious references and, in the light

of Semitic heathenism and more narrowly of the inscriptions of Syria and Arabia, to build them into a mirror for their time; he must know the later Zoroastrianism, its theological concepts and phrases; the Ethiopic language and the theology of the Abyssinian church must be simple to him; even Egypt, both Coptic and Greek, will not come amiss — cannot be wholly neglected; in truth, this island of the Arabs, set amid its encircling sands, was bare to the most mingled winds of doctrine that ever beat upon a land and people.

Again, he who would know Islam itself in its early days must advance still further on all these paths and be able to trace all their influences. Especially he must have absolute control of the theology of the Greek church, both its systematic theology and the mystic and ascetic life which was its soul. Further, another constellation of influences will rise upon his horizon and lead him still on into far lands. India and Central Asia, through ascetic Buddhism, will begin to work on Muslim thought. The threads of life run out now to Balkh and Samarcand, and there is need of the Sanscritist and the student of Indian religions to play the interpreter.

But all this, it is plain, no one brain can handle. So it meets well the object of this congress to emphasize the absolute fact that little true progress can now be made in the study of the Muslim development without collaboration. None can be an Arabist and be at home in all these fields. Few who know any of these will undertake as well to learn Arabic and penetrate the mystery of the Muslim life and faith. For it is impossible to lay too great weight on the fact that here there is not only the question of learning a most complicated and endless language, but that the even slower mastery must be reached of a whole habit and attitude of mind, foreign to us at every turn, though from time to time misleading us with the ignis fatuus of a deceptive similarity to the Old Testament and its ways.

Again another field: Since the middle ages Europe has known, if it has not always acknowledged, its debt to Islam as intermediary of the philosophy of Greece. That general fact stands firm, however it may be modified and limited. Yet, until the very last few years, almost nothing has been done to trace

the workings, the development and the result of that philosophy in Islam itself. In the current manuals of philosophy and in the encyclopædias a few names of so-called Arabian philosophers have found a place and a treatment marked in general by extreme ignorance. Everyone has heard of Avicenna and Averroes, but who has traced out their systems and read their secrets? A mere handful of Arabists of eccentric tastes have dabbled in such lore. At the present time, two or three extremely well equipped young men are at serious work upon it. But, in general, philosophy in Islam has been treated either by those who were absolutely ignorant in Arabic or painful amateurs in philosophy.

Yet, the importance of the subject, both for the history of civilization and the development of thought, can hardly be overestimated. It is already, for example, becoming evident how barren philosophy, in the strict sense, was in Islam itself, how little, if any, change or advance was made from the Greek positions. But it is also becoming plain how completely it fell to Islam to carry, in this strangely helpless fashion, the torch of philosophic thought through many dark centuries and kindle anew in Europe the idealistic flame which burns even to our day. It is largely due to the elective affinity of its oriental fervors that the dead school of Plotinus won the field, and that the simple nominalism of our times was delayed for so many centuries.

Little by little, too, as our knowledge spreads, we are discovering strange and close agreements, even to phrases, between Muslim and Christian thinkers. Threads of direct connection are being found, running down even to Pascal; and the general trend of development which has led to pragmatism and the position of Mr. William James has its parallel in the theology of Islam. For it is worth noticing that the independent intellectual life of Islam and its only original systems are to be found, though under philosophic stimulus, not among the philosophers themselves but among the theologians. In that development, paradoxically enough, came all that did not exist already in Aristotle and the neo-Platonists. Here, then, is another field on which hardly more than a beginning has been made, and from which much may be expected. Nor is the prob-

lem here so hard; for an Arabist may easily be a thorough student of philosophy as well. Yet the demand is absolute that the worker there should have the most complete knowledge of Aristotle and Plotinus.

Again another field which awaits workers is that of folklore and the story. The names can be counted easily on one hand of those folklorists who are orientalists as well. Only within the last few years have the folk-tales of Syria, Egypt, and North Africa been touched. On the Muslim side the problem of the Mediterranean people is as yet almost unconsidered. One phase of it, the history of so fundamental a collection as "The Thousand and One Nights" with its many folk-tales, is still in great darkness. One chapter could undoubtedly be illumined by the folklorists of Spain; a Spanish period in its history, or a Spanish version is a large possibility. On the other side, what light, it has still to be asked, can oriental learning throw on so unique a survival in Europe as "Aucassin et Nicolette"? What real parallels do the romances of chivalry show to the stories of the knights of the desert, and do these make necessary a connection of origin? This, it will be seen, opens the far wider question of the intercourse generally between Christendom and Islam in the middle ages, one on which I must enter immediately. Only, on this narrower matter of folklore, the necessity of coöperation is most pressing, and its possibility is also greatest. Each can bring to the great heap what he has gathered in his own field; the assorting will prove simple enough. Gradually, too, each will learn what his comrade needs and be able to put and answer the questions which tell. And in this contact I cannot refrain from mentioning the "*Bibliographie arabe*" of Prof. Chauvin of Liege; what is being done in it for folklore can surely be done, though in differing ways, for other fields.

Again may be mentioned, if only as an outstanding specimen of similar questions which lie scattered through Muslim history, the problem of the origin of the Fatimid dynasty. Did that dynasty really draw its blood from Ali and Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet, or was their claim the most gigantic fraud in history? Further, the question spreads wider and goes deeper than any mere squabble of genealogists. Whether that dynasty was of

prophetic descent or not, what were the objects, the means, the ideals of the leaders of the movement? Was it a vulgar conspiracy to attain a throne, actuated by hatred of Islam and the Arab domination? Or was it a conspiracy of philosophers and philanthropists to bring about, by fostering of science and independent thought and by gradual weakening and overthrow of popular religion and superstition, a millennial age in the earth? Were its leaders soldiers of fortune, or were they highpriests of science gathering under their guidance and control all the free investigators and thinkers of the time? Was it as though the French revolution had been matured and carried through by an international secret association of philosophers and scientists, with a view eventually to free the whole world from all other control than that of philosophy and science? If we can imagine that the Encyclopédists had not simply contributed explosive ideas to their time but had formed a vast and all pervasive society, honeycombing the ground under the ancient institutions and ideas, we shall have a close analogy to this hypothesis. In the atmosphere of the time, there is much which points its way, and the evidence for it is steadily growing, mad as it may seem. We have learned, for example, to recognize in the Assassins, who sprang from the Fatimids, no simple sect of stranglers, or Vehmgericht of peculiar ability and vitality, but also a fraternity which, in spite of the truth of its name, cherished experimental science and investigation in its mountain fortresses. In contact, too, with both Fatimids and Assassins we find the purely philosophic fraternity of the Sincere Brethren of al-Basra, which was founded to promote study and education among the people.

Nor is this question simply of Muslim interest. It should lie close to every student of mediæval Europe. For it may be asked, what part in this scheme had the Templars and the other knightly orders so freely accused of heresy and unbelief. Were they, too, late pupils of the Fatimid propagandists? Did the tentacles of the conspiracy run, in half unconscious growth, out into Europe? No one who has come to recognize how closely mediæval Islam and Europe were interdependent, in strange, underground fashions, will venture to deny this offhand. The question is there and can be solved only by combined studies. It

would be hard to lay too great stress on the close inter-relation of these fields of investigation and on the necessity of united and coöperative efforts.

Another penumbral patch in our knowledge of Islam, which may be worth a bare mention because it, too, emphasizes the necessity of a mutual understanding and coöperation, lies in the history of the mystical development. Mysticism, in Islam, ran early to asceticism; somewhat later to Pantheism; later still to mingled schools exhibiting now one, now the other side. As written in Arabic, it tended to cling to the earlier, more conservative phase; in Persian and Turkish — which always follows Persian — it drifted off in fanciful dreams of the identity of the individual, lost in the One. But it is comparatively rare to find a Persianist who is equally read in Arabic, or an Arabist who can recognize at once the source of a Persian reference or idea. As a consequence, the tendency has been for these schools to be studied by different men, who were in little touch with one another's labors, and their presentation of the different phases has tended to onesidedness. When students of Islam, then, in its different languages come together; when they, further, come into contact with the students of Buddhism and of the mysticism of India generally; when the connection is fully made with the other great root in neo-Platonism and with the other great development in the idealistic, quietistic, and pantheistic schemes of Europe, the way will be paved for the great history of the whole development of mystical thought and aspiration, which is perhaps still the obscurest side in the whole history of religion.

But that is enough of such details. Gigantic and weighty as they are, they must not make us lose sight of the fact that at the very center of Islam there lies a single problem, as yet untouched but vital for our view and for our understanding of that Faith. To put it in a word, it is the fact of Islam itself — how we are to understand it, rationalize it, explain it. This problem, though it is really one, may be divided, for clearness of statement, into three. I. How and why did the Muslim civilization arise? II. Why had it no permanence? III. In what way and to what extent did it affect the civilization of Christendoms?

One of these questions may, perhaps, seem so simple as to be absurd; another may seem a case of question begging; the third may seem not worth asking. The Muslim civilization arose, I may be told, through the genius and victories of the Arabs. Again, there is no question of lack of permanence; it is there now. Lastly, its effect on the civilization of Europe is well known, and — according to the answerer — was infinitesimal or almost infinite.

Let us get down to the facts in the case. In the year A. D. 622, Muhammad, who claimed to be a prophet like the prophets of the Old Testament, migrated through fear of his fellow-townsmen from Mecca to Medina, then called Yathrib, and there founded a theocratic state with himself as absolute head and interpreter of the will of God. His mission, he proclaimed, was to reduce the world to the faith of Islam, the one eternally true religion, which he had been sent to revive. His commission gave him the right to enforce his claim to the obedience and faith of all the peoples of earth. At the same time Arabia was more or less in a state of ferment. The tribes were restless; the time had come for them to burst the bands of the desert and make one of their great raids on the adjoining lands. They had done this before, time and again; it is part of the history of Arabia. On this occasion, Muhammad and his successors drew them together with infinite labor and skill, inspired them partly with a belief in themselves, in their nation and in their national prophet and his faith, partly with a vision of an immensity of booty, and launched them on the world. It was such a raid as Arabia had never known before, but still it was a raid. It lasted for years; it swept to Samarcand, to Spain, to the passes of the Taurus, to the cataracts of the Nile. It changed the map of half the world, and when the wave ebbed again, the old civilization, the old states were gone, and another civilization, new and very strange, had come in their place. True, the leaders of the raid knew what they would have, knew that they had come permanently and tried to hold the tribesmen to that knowledge. But that could not be. There were too few of them; enough to conquer but not enough to swamp the conquered peoples. They died away among these peoples and left there

some tinge of Arab blood; or, being nomads of the desert, they yearned for their sands and drifted back to their own land or to whatever other North African wastes they could find.

But how was the civilization which arose — the Muslim civilization — kin to them? What did they give to it and what part had they in it? For one thing, they gave to it their language, that tongue of the Arabs which may well compare in dignity, elaboration and flexibility with that of the Greeks. The language carried with it certain literary forms in which part, at least, of the Muslim world was long cramped. Thanks to it, for example, the Egyptians forgot the lessons of the Greek poets and came to believe that a story could not be told in verse, while the Persians, who revived their own language again to literary use, had no such scruples. To the Muslim civilization the Arabs gave also the great conception of Islam and the traditions of the character and teaching of Muhammad as contained in his Qur'an and in the stories of his sayings and doings. Certain conceptions, modes of life and thought, of social relationships and ideals they may also have given, but all these, too, could be entered perfectly under the fact of Muhammad and his teaching. That seems to have been the sum of the Arab contribution. We hear often of Arabian science, of Arabian philosophy, of Arabian art. There was never any Arabian science, philosophy, or art. These arose in the civilization which followed the great Arab raid; they never flourished on Arabian soil; they were never led or advanced by Arabs. The most of culture which the Arabs themselves produced was the Umayyad court at Damascus, and when the Umayyads fell before the Abbasids in A. D. 750, after a rule of more than a century, the Arab period closed for Islam. But that court was only a glorified revival of the pre-Muhammadan Arab courts at al-Hira and Ghassan and fostered only the civilization of the desert. There we hear the last strains of the old poetry, and hear little but such strains. The theologians, it is true, were at work; the system of the great doctor of the Greek church, John of Damascus, was making itself felt; the things of religion were silently but surely developing. But of that rich blossoming time of prose literature and of the newer poetry, of science, philosophy, and art, which followed under the Abbasids,

we have no trace. With all that the genius of the Arab race had no kinship and now the Arab race was to fade from the scene.

After them there enter the Abbasids. They, too, were Arabs by blood; but they, at least their earlier rulers of genius, read aright the signs, and saw that no Arab kingdom could stand by itself. The Constitution of Umar, which regarded the Arab race as a people chosen of Allah to do his will, had broken down after only a few years. The idea of the Umayyads, which regarded the kingdoms of the world as created for the enjoyment of the Arab race, had vanished in tribal strife. The non-Arab Muslims had come to their own again, and by sheer weight of numbers, knowledge, and skill, had compelled recognition and reckoning. That they had from the Abbasids. Their capital, Baghdad, founded in A. D. 762 by the foresight of al-Mansur, was to draw together and weld into a whole three at least of the Muslim races, the Arabs, the Persians, and the Syrians. The plan of al-Mansur succeeded in great part. The Muslim empire was founded as a thing not necessarily Arab or Persian or Syrian. Islam, in conception so free but for long politically so limited, had now broken its national bonds, and become in a true sense a universal religion and a world power. Then, in astounding outburst, there came the Muslim civilization.

It is hard to describe this period of culture in terms that will not sound strained and even hysterical. For the first hundred years of the Abbasid Khalifas we have a veritable Golden Age in the intellectual life. These Khalifas held strictly to Islam, but they fostered, too, the sciences and arts. All the thought of the Greeks, coming in many channels, was accepted eagerly by them. Their people was urged to study, to research, to production; and the books which followed showed that the urging had effect. It was a period of intellectual earnestness and literary productiveness such as has seldom been. For its mate we have to look to the great eras of the world when awakening times seem to have come. After a century or so, it died away, but the intellectual life still went on, though led by fewer and in more isolated fashion. Then there would come another period at some other court — rivaling but hardly equaling the first in brilliancy and originality. Thus the torch has been passed

along through a series, at long intervals, of such ages of reviving energy. But after that first Abbasid period we find the mass of the people taking little part in these.

Here, then, we have the first element in our central problem. How are we to condition and explain this outburst? To ascribe it to the Arabs themselves, in any direct sense, is evidently absurd. Even to imagine that they, as a virile element, quickened into life for a time the dying or, at best, comatose races which surrounded them, seems hardly more satisfactory. It would be difficult indeed to find in history a really parallel case to support such a view. Furthermore, we find them at every turn forced back for intellectual aid on these very races. Even their ministers and the officials of their governments were Persians, Turks and Kurds. Their men of science were Syrians, Persians and Egyptians. Their greatest Arabic scholars and the founders of Arabic grammar and of the science of the Arabic language were not Arabians. The same holds of many great masters of the interpretation of the Qur'an, of theology, traditions and jurisprudence. It is really impossible to find a side of the intellectual life in which the Arabs continued to hold their own.

What can we say, then, of the state of these lands and people before the Arabs came? Did this civilization exist then, and was it simply passed on in a new language and with somewhat changed environment? There is nothing to suggest anything of the kind. Some study of science, philosophy and medicine existed in Persia; some in the Christian monasteries scattered from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf; some, too, among the Syrian heathen who had survived, especially at Harran. But that study was all, as it were, cloistered in the cells and laboratories of the learned; it had no free course among the people and no one will venture to say that a period of culture and awakening was then in progress. Intellectually, these people were really asleep or worse. Only by grasping this can it be understood how the great Arab raid swept over such tracts and met so little real resistance. It is significant, on the other side, to observe for how many centuries the Muslims were baffled by the passes of the Taurus and the supposed decadent forces of Byzantium. There, and there only, did they meet a people which

did not exist simply in the past but had a living present and future.

Nor, if we look more narrowly at the Qur'an itself, at the influence of the character of Muhammad and of the essential ideas of Islam, can we find a clue to our problem. There is nothing there to spur to intellectual exertion or to pondering over the problems of life and of nature. Rather, the opposite. Natural science and independent thought, curiosity as to the how and why of things, have ever had to fight a long and losing battle with simple Islam and the form of life which it fosters. Not the contemplative life in Christendom nor the stiffly held dogmas of the Roman and Reformation churches have shown a tithe of this dragging and repressing influence. It is not merely that Islam holds an absolute doctrine of predestination. Rather, it is that for it the map of life is fixed, the scheme of existence all arranged and for the best. Man needs only to accept and enjoy what the bounty of Allah has prepared. Nothing is left to seek or to improve. The bounds of this fleeting world and of man's knowledge therein are appointed. And the world, if it is sought over keenly, reckoned over highly, becomes a seducing temptress turning man from the only thing of any importance, the consideration of Allah Himself. Man's chief end is to glorify and enjoy Allah for ever, but he must not in doing that consider too closely or curiously the works of Allah in creation and providence. He may look at nature, but not so narrowly as to distract him for a moment from nature's God. Free examination and speculation without the ever present recognition of a tremendous, overshadowing Personality is denied. The world is a perpetual miracle, carried out from instant to instant by this Being. Nature in the sense of law does not exist. At best there is a certain uniformity or custom, on which man may fairly depend. But, first and last, it is for him to take humbly what comes to him from day to day at the hand of Allah, and to keep his thoughts fixed upon Allah and upon nothing else. From Him he has come, and to Him he must return when the world, like a many colored bubble, has broken and vanished forever.

Such conceptions as these could never stir to intellectual life, or create a great period of civilization. Yet the period was

there and with it our problem, a problem to my mind as yet unsolved. Soluble of course it is, but I can put before you no solution now. My object is rather to urge the fact of this problem, a fact very generally obscured or denied. Let me put the problem in a word: We have the Muslim civilization to explain. None of the elements in it — the Arab race, the conquered peoples, Islam — seem to be adequate to an explanation. It may be that we are pressing too closely on the mystery of the ebbing and flowing of the nations and their lives, or endeavoring to estimate conditions which, once gone, can never be recreated or reunderstood, but so long as the European renaissance can be weighed and conditioned it would seem that this great Asiatic renaissance should be possible of intelligible statement.

Let us turn now to the second element. Why had the Muslim civilization no permanence? Here, again, it is necessary to distinguish. Islam and what I have called the Muslim civilization are two very separate things. They can endure apart from one another, I may hazard the assertion, more easily and are more thinkable as separate entities than Christianity and the Christian civilization. Christianity, some will tell us, is passing in its historical sense, while the Christian civilization is most enduring. However that may be, the essential concepts of Christianity are so absolutely part of the Christian civilization, and continue to develop and work so in that civilization, that to run a line between the two that will follow any bearings but those of a confessionalist, is manifestly impossible. In Islam it was never so. The Muslim civilization may be said to have flourished in spite of Islam. The great thinkers in Islam, apart from some professed theologians, drew no stimulus or guidance from it; often they were hopelessly at odds with it. In the case, even, of the more original theologians, it would be possible to knock away the Muhammadan scaffolding and let the religious edifice, which they had reared, stand by itself. Their necessary conceptions are purely general, compounded of mysticism and theism. The peculiarities of Islam, the bizarre concretenesses, sprung from the brain of Muhammad and his immediate constructive followers, drop easily away from them. Yet, in contrast with the

asserted experience of Christendom, it is Islam which has survived and not the Muslim civilizations. The worship of the black stone in the Ka'ba, a fetish of the simplest type, has triumphed over the exalted aspirations and visions of the thinker and the mystic.

Islam, then, understood in this sense of the dogma, ritual, institutions and laws established by Muhammad and developed by his successors, is one of the most absolutely permanent things in the world. In spite of its lack of elasticity, its grasp once taken has never been broken nor relaxed. Peoples which had accepted Christianity have again thrown it off; but no people has yet turned from Islam to another faith. The soil, even, with one great exception, which has once become Muslim, remains so to this day, in religion at least, if not in government. That exception is the Spanish peninsula and the islands which went with it, an exception so exceptional in every way as to stand by itself. Islam, then, is permanent.

But the Muslim civilization is impermanent to a singular degree and in a singular way. The civilizations have always had their tides, their ebbs and flows. Europe has had its dark age and, again, its renaissance. But taking the European civilization in the broadest sense, following it for centuries from the brilliant period of Greek thought and letters to the present equally brilliant development of material things, the trend has been a gaining one, the steps and hearts have been upwards, and if there have come periods of silence and rest, the silence has been a brooding and the rest has been a recovery of strength. Far otherwise in Islam. There the silences have ever grown longer and deeper; the periods of life and speech have grown fewer and shorter. The bearers of the torch have kept dwindling in numbers and certainly shrinking more and more from public view. Their periods cease to belong to, cease to be identifiable with, the Muslim peoples; the leaders die in obscurity and fear and leave no followers; the abortive great age is over and the old, abiding Islam reigns on.

Hardly anything can be more melancholy than to trace through Muslim history this unviolated law. The thread there

of intellectual life — leaving out of account, of course, the sciences professional and ancillary to Islam itself — may be said to have run three-fold. This analysis is rough, and depends, in part, on our ignorance, but will be found suggestive and fairly faithful. Outside of it may be placed the great intellectual movement in the first years of the Abbasids. That seems, in truth, to have been a movement of the whole people, or at least affecting the whole people; such a one, in fact, as the Elizabethan period in England or the Renaissance in Italy. But after this century or less had passed, the intellectual life continued for a time in three different ways. First there appeared, from time to time, a culture consisting of a circle of men of science and letters, gathered round a patronizing monarch at his court. Such a one was Sayf ad-Dawla at Aleppo; such, Mahmud the Iconoclast at Ghazna; such, many of the Fatimid princes at Cairo; many small dynasties in Spain; and perhaps the last, of any meaning, were found in the Muwahhid dynasty in Spain and North Africa. In all these cases, the essential thing was a protector and fosterer strong enough to be able to neglect popular disapproval. This is culture on a court footing, imitating in a fashion the first great Abbasid encouragement of science, but existing essentially for the amusement, edification and praise of the protecting prince. It did not spring from the people, and from it no popular life could spring. Its existence was strictly dependent on the existence of a prince with enlightened tastes. And even such princes gradually found it advisable to draw a cordon round the speculations of their court philosophers, and to fence off freedom of thought from the mass of the people. On one side, they feared the effects of that thought on the simple faith of the multitude, and on another, they feared the wrath of the multitude against themselves and the free thinkers of their courts. Naturally, under such conditions, genuine freedom of thought ceased to exist. Literature might flourish after a fashion and for a time, but even it could not, in the long run, reach beyond the constructing of panegyrics and jests. Such circles stood to true Augustan ages as the imitations of Versailles by petty German princes to the actual court of the Grand Monarque. As exponents of civilization, they, in their final development,

may safely be neglected. Yet, it is always to be remembered that al-Farabi, Avicenna, and Averroes, three of the greatest names in Arabic philosophy, were products of such conditions.

This, which I have just described, was the public, visible thread of the intellectual life in Islam. It had no contact with the body of the people; it was of its nature to be abrupt and non-continuous, a succession of dwindling points and not a line. But there must have existed also a second and more continuous thread of tradition, consisting of private and solitary students and thinkers. Their lives, of necessity, were passed in quietness, apart from the throng, seeking safety from it and failing to affect it. We therefore know little of them in detail. Some stand out, as al-Ma'arri, the satirist, in one way, or as Umar Khayyam in another, or as Nasir ibn Khusraw, who finally sought peace in ascetic mysticism, in yet a third. Almost all we can say is that there was, undoubtedly — perhaps still is to some slight extent — a small number of exceptional men who lived apart and pursued philosophy and science along paths which led them often to mysticism and alchemy. Some had genius, as the three whom I have just mentioned, and their names have come down to us. Some we know only by vague references, or notes on MSS. Many must have gone their way dumb. They were all carriers of a hidden torch, and in themselves could have formed no civilization. That they had to live thus retired and practically to no other purpose than to pass on their speculations to a rare handful of disciples is the significant thing in them for us.

Thirdly, there was a thread of development still more mysterious to us, because obscured of intention. Just as these solitary thinkers may sometimes have appeared at court, so sometimes they may have had part in that vast philosophic society which, as has been guessed, and as I have stated already, lay behind and was one of the weapons of the Fatimid conspiracy. Such bodies were the clearing houses, the means of exchange and intercourse for the society of their time. On one side they touched the superstitions of the masses, on another the ambitions of would-be founders of empire, on a third all the existing phases of the intellectual life. Of necessity and on all sides they must work underground, and they exploited to the uttermost the doctrine of

economy in teaching which all Islam accepts, and which has crystallized in the tradition ascribed to Ali, " Speak to the people as they can understand." Even when the conspiracy had, on the surface, succeeded and the Fatimid dynasty was established, the Hall of Science which they opened at Cairo had to be managed with great care to avoid an open issue with the believing people. Their culture, just as in the case of the courts and the solitary thinkers, was no true civilization, for it did not reach the masses.

We can now state and appreciate more exactly our second problem. In the first century of the Abbasid rule, there came a true intellectual period. It was an outburst, comparable in intensity for the time with the European Renaissance. Thereafter came a gradual but persistent decline, varied only by such phases of scientific and philosophical activity as I have already indicated. Above all, the masses of the people had no part in any true culture, seem to have been crippled in some mysterious way for independent thought. Our problem, then, is how this should have been so. The causes usually assigned do not seem to be real or, at least, adequate. Islam itself may have been to blame, but a new analysis of Islam will be necessary to show how it produced such results. Certainly, its fatalism alone is not a sufficient cause. The immediate ancestors of most of us were equally strong predestinarians, but civilization did not suffer greatly at their hands. Nor, to go farther back, was the general position in Europe before the Renaissance essentially different from that in the contemporary Islam. Only, the Renaissance came to Europe and turned it sharply into a new path, and mediævalism, for it, was past; while Islam still lived as in mediævalism. That the Muslim countries are yet in the precise condition and hold the precise attitudes of Europe in the middle ages, is the kernel of the situation. Nor can the devastation spread by the Mongol hordes be alleged as an adequate explanation. Their ravages did not spread far enough; Egypt and North Africa, for example, escaped; and our question affects all Muslim lands. Wherever Islam has penetrated and a Muslim government been established, we find this inevitable decadence, punctuated by brief and successively smaller flowerings of a peculiar

hot-house culture, exceedingly narrowed in its scope. And, curiously enough, such periods are always a sign of weakening in the fabric of the state itself. The more critical Muslims themselves learned to observe them and knew that the state in which they appeared was nearing its close; that some more barbaric and virile successor was about to arise and overthrow it. These points — the disintegrating and weakening effect of culture, and the law that Muslim states change and pass while Islam itself is unchanging and permanent — are to be read, for example, very clearly in the history of Muslim Spain. They made the reconquest possible, and explain the puzzle that Spanish Islam, more highly civilized certainly than Spanish Christendom and with the millions of Africa at its back, was in the end driven out. But that brings us no nearer a solution of the primary problems which I have stated, and which are essentially and taken together the question of the general relation of Islam to civilization. Practically, they come out in another question, Is Islam capable of a permanent and normally developing civilization?

It is not my business here to offer answers to these questions. Mine is the easier but less satisfactory part of stating the problems. But from what has gone before, it will be seen in what direction I feel, though very vaguely, the solutions may lie. The absolute grasp of Islam on all the sides of the lives of the Muslims has something to do with it. When theology, philosophy, science, law — the church and state in all their phases of activity — are allowed to develop separately, much else will be possible. Again, when Islam abandons — which apparently it never can — its essentially miraculous view of the constitution of the universe, and makes some provision for a reign of law, Islam will be capable of continuous thought and development. Thirdly, and to my mind most certainly and emphatically, the learned must abandon their scholastically snobbish attitude towards the unlearned masses. Knowledge, and with it civilization, must be made a thing not of the few but of the many. The village school must be fostered even more than the university; Islam has always known the latter; its weakness has been in the former. Scholars must leave their learned ease and isolation and serenity of thought and take the people into their confidence.

The economy of teaching must go, and the common school master must cease to be the butt of all the village jests. When this is accomplished, if accomplished it can be, there will be some hope of a permanent civilization in Islam.

We are now left with our third and last question. In what ways and to what extent did the Muslim civilization affect that of Europe? The stating of it is almost enough. The problem is there and all that I can do is to lay some stress upon its importance. In this country, most unfortunately, the study of Muhammadanism and of Arabic things generally has been treated as a subordinate department in the study of the Bible. May I refer for illustration to the arrangement of this congress itself? We have this section of ours in the History of Religion given to Muhammadanism, and that is practically all the recognition which the whole Muslim world has had, a world in contact for centuries with Christendom and which deeply affected it, a world which, at the present time, is going through a great awakening, and which stands with Christendom and the civilization of China as one of the three great existing and militant civilizations. It is true that there is a section for Semitic languages, but the names of the leading speakers there show that what is meant is Semitic in relation to the Bible. Nor is there a section of Semitic literature, though the Arabic alone is one of the richest literatures in the world. This, let me say, is no criticism of the construction of the present congress; the congress, as is only fitting, reflects faithfully the attitude of students in this country.

I need say nothing of Islam as it is at present. The news of the day brings to us the evidence of its gigantic possibilities. But how stand the facts in the earlier case? For the mediæval world, let Chaucer instruct us. His wife of Bath had been three times at Jerusalem. His knight had been a soldier of fortune in Muslim lands from the Atlantic to Asia Minor. His squire tells — unhappily only half tells — a tale from the "Arabian Nights." He himself puts into English a Latin translation of an Arabic treatise on the astrolabe. Much in the same way we use translations of German treatises. His mathematical vocabulary is Arabic. The names of half his authorities in medi-

cine are Arabic. The fact stands absolutely firm that in his time the Mediterranean peoples, Muslim and Christian, were in more living contact, were bound by closer ties of study and intercourse, than they have ever been since. Then, students went to Muslim schools in Spain and Southern Italy to hear the specialists in their subjects, and to pursue post-graduate study, as ours go now to Germany. Now the learned editors of Chaucer do not understand half of these allusions and have to wait till a stray Arabist comes round to explain them. What Von Ranke, the great master, wrote long ago in a letter to his brother, that for the historian of Europe the two indispensable languages were Latin and Arabic, has yet to bear fruit.

But, happily, in Europe this extreme ignorance and indifference is passing. The lamented Dozy first compared, in an historical spirit, mediæval European chronicles and charters with Arabic texts. Now there is a growing body of Spanish Arabists who are following in his steps. For them there is the advantage that they are all the time on their own soil, and studying their own history. The time must come when all the historians of mediæval Europe will of necessity be Arabists or at least collaborate with Arabists. And I venture to state the thesis sharply, that the next labor for these historians will be to reinterpret the civilization of Europe in the light of that of Islam. Ignorant depreciation and extravagant worship must yield to patient appreciation, and that can only be reached by the students of Europe and of Islam recognizing their mutual dependence and joining their forces. I hail this congress, then, with its ample recognition of the correlation of sciences and the necessary contact of kindred fields as a weighty acceptance of that principle and a long step towards carrying it out.

DUNCAN BLACK MACDONALD.

*Hartford, Conn.*

# THE NEW COUNTRY CHURCH.

Our appreciation of the old Country Church is only equaled by our depreciation of the new. "The mother of literature, politics and a pure social life" is inscribed on her monument with many an eloquent and deserved word of eulogy, but we are told that her bright and aggressive descendants have emigrated westward or moved to the city. The noble Roman is gone and only Rome remains, with its shrines, monuments, and catacombs, of archæological interest, peopled with an inferior race.

The Church of the hillside and valley has only traditions of a glorious past and assurances of a decadent present and doubtful future. Illustrations of country life in our magazines and papers rarely fail to include pictures of the abandoned farmstead, which is designated as "typical," and the abandoned schoolhouse, "showing the decadence of country life in New England." The mission visitor penetrating into the remote and obscure corners of our state tells his story of intellectual, moral, and spiritual destitution, and this also, with appropriate headlines, is heralded abroad as typical of the condition of the Country Church among us. Editorials and discussions are frequent upon "The decadence of the Country Church," "Why the children do not attend or the men identify themselves with the Church," "The restlessness of the ministry," "The passing of the settled pastorate," etc.

Its problems are declared to be racial, social, intellectual, economic, and spiritual, individual and peculiar to each locality, and as yet far, very far, from any adequate solution.

In other words, as far as the Country Church is concerned, the New Jerusalem appears to be returning heavenward rather than descending earthward, as John saw it.

And yet one of old has said, "Say not thou, What is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this."

Is it not just possible that this matter of decadence has been a little exaggerated, and the word "typical" has been misplaced, given over wrongfully to the exception which but proves the rule of the vitality and success of the great body of our country Churches? I believe so. Certainly, when it comes to represent with illustrations one of our cities, like Hartford, they never select the lower streets of the city, once aristocratic, now the abode of the slums. They could easily find the indescribable tenement, the low saloon, and the wretched exterior where once was the home of luxury and the abode of puritan respectability, but they refrain from photographing it and labeling it as "typical" of Hartford.

They choose rather for illustration the new city in its beauty and promise and the best buildings therein, and call them "representative" and "typical." Why, a recent illustrated edition of the *Courant* had for its most conspicuous picture of Hartford the new bridge, complete in every particular, carrying trolley car, automobile, team and carriage, while the foundations for all the piers of the structure are not laid yet. They are right in their selection.

That which is "typical" and "representative" is always the new, the ideal which is being realized in the actual.

That we as Congregationalists are having some success comparatively in solving the new problems incident to the changed conditions in New England is evident from the recent figures given us by the editor of the *Zion's Herald.* He finds that during the past fourteen years, while the Methodist membership in New England has increased 1.4 per cent., ours has increased 10 per cent. But what of the Country Church in Connecticut? A few questions have been asked of the pastors of some fifty Country Churches* which were selected by those locally acquainted throughout the state from every county and conference, without regard to size (membership ranging from 59 to 425, the average and majority being between 100 and 200), as examples of churches actively engaged in meeting conditions distinctively rural as distinguished from those of the city and

*As an example of the churches selected, the following were taken from the Hartford East Conference: Enfield, Glastonbury, Hockanum, South Windsor, Wapping.

manufacturing center. We believe these to be on the whole truly representative of the New Country Church in the different localities and diverse conditions which obtain in our state, and from these we will try to draw its picture in outline.

Generally speaking, during the past fifty years the constituency and field of activity of these churches has decreased and narrowed, but during the past twenty-five years they gained in membership 10½ per cent., following an 8 per cent. increase during the preceding twenty-five years.

A more careful examination of the history of one fairly average church will perhaps reveal the meaning of these figures.

During the past one hundred years this church has come to share its field of activity with five other Protestant Churches and one Catholic, but, while the population increased 100 per cent. during the period, a large portion of the increase being Catholic, the Protestant Church membership increased 535 per cent., or from 8 to 22 per cent. of the population.

In other words, these modest figures of gain in these churches are eloquently indicative of a cultivation of the soil that is most intensive and successful.

The average length of the present pastorate in these fifty representative country churches is eleven years, which is not bad for a restless age; and 60 per cent. of the pastors are settled by council, as compared with 39 per cent. in our state at large.

Nearly all of these churches report recent or contemplated improvements and additions to their equipment, and the parish house or its equivalent is coming to be esteemed a necessity. These things are not the outward marks of decadence.

In adopting new forms of worship these churches are conservative, but not unresponsive to the reasonable demands of our age. The Responsive Reading from the Psalter has come to stay. The Lord's Prayer is being used more and more in public service, while the tendency is to introduce the Apostles' Creed, the Gloria, the Litany and some of the more general collects from the Book of Common Prayer — to claim and utilize our heritage from the Christian past, rather than to cultivate novelty and eccentricity.

The Country Church in Connecticut is a Missionary Church.

Every one of these fifty churches contributed last year to Foreign Missions, Home Missions, and the American Missionary Association. Forty-one of them remembered all six of our societies, and forty-five did not forget the Fund for Ministers. They are organized, young and old, with seventy-five Foreign Missionary Societies and thirty Home, besides the Ladies' Aid or Benevolent Society, which is everywhere found and full of good works. They are fostering an intelligent interest in the great movements of the kingdom. The Mission Study Class has already found a place in one-fourth of these churches, besides regular instruction in the pulpit and C. E. Society, and the Missionary Library with other like literature is coming in rapidly. Five churches support individual missionaries, not to mention native Bible women, teachers, preachers and helpers which are supported by the various organizations connected with these churches.

Local missionary efforts also abound — the schoolhouse or neighborhood meeting (one church supports five such services), and the outside Sunday School and C. E. Society. And better still, some of the churches are perceiving the advantage of bringing those in the remote districts to the services of the church that they may feel the warmth and enthusiasm of Christian fellowship and life. One church has a regular service of church wagons for this purpose, and others are trying to do the same thing by means of individual efforts.

The best educational policy provides for the maintenance of strong schools at central points and the transportation of scholars from the remote districts to these schools. And a like policy on the part of the church will obtain for it and all concerned all the advantages that come to school and scholars from this practice, and will not tend to perpetuate but will help to break down the mischievous divisions and isolations of locality.

As to the problem of reaching the youth, it would seem as though these churches had the matter pretty well in hand. All of them have their Sunday Schools and all but two of them C. E. Societies, and about half of them either a Junior Society or Pastor's Class. The Sunday School is probably receiving the most and best attention of any organization at the present

time. It is everywhere being improved and made more efficient. Where conditions require concentration of effort, this organization affords the best single opportunity for Christian influence upon the young. Besides these, however, Boys and Girl's Clubs, Boys Brigade, Knights of King Arthur and other organizations bear witness to the energy and activity of the Country Church, or at least of the country pastor.

One pastor writes that his ladies are organized to death. No one has ever questioned the presence and usefulness of women in the Country Church. I find mentioned an average of two distinctively Women's organizations for every one of these churches, and we know that the sisters are most active in all the other departments of our church work.

"Mere man," however, has few distinctive corners in these Country Churches. The Ecclesiastical Society is generally given over to him, but he does not seem to enjoy it or attend it very enthusiastically. Six Men's organizations, three of them Men's Clubs, are mentioned in all of these churches. One pastor said that the men in his parish were content to go with the women and follow their leadership.

It is doubtless true that many find intellectual and social stimulus and help in organizations outside of the church. And yet one cannot help feeling that it would do no harm to push the man a little more into the foreground in our church life. Notwithstanding the impression so prevalent to the contrary, probably we have a larger proportion of men in our membership than ever before. The proportion fifty years ago in these fifty churches was 31½ per cent., twenty-five years ago 33 per cent., and now it is 35 per cent., being in each period about 1 per cent. more than the average for the state.

It is difficult to even suggest and impossible to adequately describe all that these churches are doing in and for their respective communities, for the church label is not found upon all of its products. The New Country Church in Connecticut is really, though usually unconsciously, an institutional church. It is the center and inspiration of the life of the community. Through its members as individuals, and the various outside organizations into which they have entered or formed for convenience, it touches the life about it on every side.

The local school boards are usually made up quite largely from its membership, and frequently the pastor is called to serve thereon. These churches are behind every movement and organization in the interest of temperance and good citizenship, and too generally they are the movement and the organization and there is none other.

All of these churches have their socials, entertainments, fairs, etc. — very costly arrangements to raise money, even questionable expedients some may say, but prolific of untold good in furnishing simple and innocent amusement and affording indispensable social opportunity. Nearly every one of these churches has some informal part in promoting or maintaining some kind of a literary circle, book or magazine club, or lecture course — one or all of these, to say nothing of libraries and reading rooms. Almost without exception these pastors are alive to the greatest of all dangers in country life — social and intellectual stagnation. Many of them have found the Grange a most convenient and helpful ally in meeting the difficulty, and in some cases this organization has doubtless helped somewhat in the solution of the economic problem which, while it is so influential in the life of the church, lies so far beyond its reach.

The important fact is, however, not so much how these churches are solving their problems, but that they are recognizing them and making use of means and remedies at hand for their solution.

Even the racial problem, which is not for me to discuss, increasingly difficult, as it doubtless is from the peculiar character of much of the more recent emigration, is being attacked in many quiet and inconspicuous ways.

Our Country Churches no longer witness periodic seasons of great spiritual awakening with large ingatherings of converts.

On the other hand periods of marked spiritual declension are not observed. Our work is steady, resourceful, unremitting, broader and more definite year by year in its recognition of the needs of our communities and in its efforts to meet them, and, best of all, day by day the Lord is adding to us those that are being saved.

William F. English.

*East Windsor, Conn.*

# A THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF CERTAIN PHASES OF CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE.

The working theology of a pastor who begins his work immediately at the close of his course of academic training and professional study consists primarily in his mastery of the standards for which the church has declared. It is by no means necessarily a cold and dead body of scientific knowledge; indeed, if it were this it would be no true theology. It does await, however, a certain warrant of certainty and a definite touch of life, which is to be found in the experience of the living persons of the parish who claim to have found God and to be living in conscious relationship with him. This experience becomes a new source of knowledge to the pastor. He discovers facts of the first rank upon which he must reason. His course in systematic theology in the seminary is continued in a course in systematic theology in the parish. The two exert reciprocal influence. The pastor who attempts to interpret the Christian experience of the parish in terms of theology is not a novice. His very observation of the facts will be more or less conditioned by his seminary training. On the other hand, the system of Christian theology wrought out in the seminary will not remain unmodified by the parish experience if the pastor is a living man studying vital facts.

Every Congregational pastor must be a Christian theologian in a certain sense. He will not have the least wish to claim the title in any exclusive or academic sense; but, as a man in close and tender touch with the Christian experience of the parish and as the possessor of a deepening, more fruitful Christian experience of his own, he is bound to attempt to subject these experiences to examination and to reduce them to order. His study of the Scriptures and literature adds more facts and enlarges his vision. Reasoning from these data, however imperfect and cramped his processes may be, the pastor is a theologian.

This method of investigation is logical and timely. It is a

part of the general temper and movement of scientific inquiry. Men rush with eager zeal to interpret the facts of the natural order in the terms of natural science; they receive the applause of their fellows for their service to the cause of human learning. Surely attention should be given to all the facts. There is more in the universe than rocky strata and shining stars. The Christian experience is as integral a part of the cosmos as fishes and ferns. The modern scientist demands the facts at first hand and all the facts. Then he must require the pastor's report upon Christian experience as much as the chemist's report upon the elements of his science. Romanes was simply the champion of true scientific method when he insisted that "the religious consciousness of Christians" is a phenomenon which demands investigation.[1] Thus the pastor's report is demanded by universal science.

The pastor has peculiar access to the facts at first hand. He is with his people in a closeness of fellowship when the Christian ideal and motive and control are displayed as they are shown to no other person. He may estimate, and he must estimate if he is true to his privilege, what Christian theology really is by what he sees of the action of Christ and reaction upon Christ in his own spiritual life and in the experience of the parish.

The product of this method today is as precious and true as it was when Jesus shared his life with the twelve. When the first, the greatest, and the simplest Christian creed was uttered, "Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God," the glad confession did not leap to the lips of a man who had been taught formal theology by a rabbi; it burst from the very experience of a man who had been the companion of a Friend. "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven."[2] There is an intutional avenue of apprehension open to those who abide in the Master through which is made known ultimate truth. As Denney says:[3] The content of the term Christ "is revealed to us in a religious experience in which the Father draws us to the Son,

[1] "Thoughts on Religion," Chicago, 1896, p. 108.
[2] Matt. 16: 16-17.
[3] "Studies in Theology," London, Hodder, 1895, p. 34.

and the Son interprets to us the Father; it is on such a religious experience alone that our theology can be built."

This paper is an attempt to subject certain phases of Christian experience, personal to the writer or shared in the parish, to examination with a view to interpret them in the terms of Christian theology.

We know ourselves as personal beings, distinct from others, with persistence of identity. We are not a bundle of powers loosely bound together; we consist in a unity which presents the insuperable mystery of an individual.

Most clearly of all we comprehend the relations which we bear to corresponding environments.

1. There is a physical body related to a material world and in the perfect adjustment of that relationship stands the health and permanence of the body.

2. There is a reasoning soul related to a world of mental and emotional and volitional reality. In this we think and feel and choose.

3. Still more profound is a native and universal capacity to respond to a Higher Being. We possess ideals of perfection which we do not attain. We cry out for help in the unequal struggle with the cosmos. In relation with this ideal world and this Supreme we maintain a spiritual life called religion. When that Supreme is revealed through Jesus Christ, and relations with him established and maintained by faith in Christ, the spirit's experience becomes Christian. The biology of this experience is Christian theology.

This highest capacity or sense of the person demands corresponding reality. It does not create a God simply for its own satisfaction. The capacity exists because the reality which can satisfy it has evoked it, as the light evokes an eye through an age-long process from a pigment cell. The witness to the capacity is universal. "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God." [4] "For thou hast created us unto Thyself, and our heart finds no rest until it rests in Thee." [5] All persons are truly seekers after God. The heathen

[4] Psa. 42:1.
[5] Augustine, "Confessions," I: 1, i.

beating an idol in angry revenge is nevertheless a witness to the persistence of a primal spiritual passion.

The Christian discovers his God through the life of a person in history, Jesus of Nazareth, and names him Father, as Jesus did. The Christian's perfect name for God is the one used by Paul with glowing affection, "The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."[6] The God of Jesus is the God who satisfies my spirit. I seek to conceive of God as Jesus conceived him; I dare to attempt for myself such a relationship to the Father in love and obedience as Jesus bore to him. The very heart of the Christian experience is this, God the Father is discovered in Jesus.

The central fact about this discovery is construed in the terms of the holiest thing we know about ourselves. The supreme fact about us is love; the central passion in us is love. The Father-love becomes the central fact about God as we experience him. Men cannot escape the appeal. The love of a mother will follow her boy to the uttermost deeps of ruin, still yearning to save him. The love of God will cling to a man in the abyss.

Out of this experience of the soul, even when love is defied, I construct the central Christian doctrine of the Father-love of God. It is the starting-point in theology. Its severity is justice; its patience is forgiveness; its acceptance is heaven; its outrage and defiance is hell; its supreme manifestation is personal sacrifice. This is my first preaching doctrine — God the Father loves men. I have dared say it to a criminal trembling after conviction; I have repeated it to the saints who, after half a century of experience, have not yet exhausted its meaning.

The logical following out of the name Father into the analogy of the family leads us to the construction of the moral and spiritual order as a spiritual family, in which the sovereign love of the Father comes to expression in a perfect will, whose ready acceptance is the joy of the child. There have been several analogies used to describe the order in which God and man stand related. The City of God, the Republic of God, and the Kingdom of God are well known. The logical issue of the doctrine of the divine Fatherhood, however, is the construction of the entire re-

[6] Eph., 1 : 3

lationship between God and man according to the analogy of the family of God. The Christian experience warrants this construction, which has certain logical corollaries.

It defines the ideal of the spiritual life for every person as a perfect relationship of love, trust and service between the yearning spirit and the answering Father. We live in the Father's house; his will is our law; his life is our strength.

This is what ought to be. Christian experience witnesses, however, to the fact that these conditions are not realized. Something has disturbed the perfect relationship. Every person is conscious of the rupture. The great confessional literature of the spirit, increasing as the centuries pass, is the outpouring of the sorrowing human heart aware of its failure to realize its perfect relation with God. The penitential psalms, the self-disclosures of an Augustine, and the last office of contrition performed by ourselves as our own priests, witness to the deep, pervasive, deadly element of disaster, which has invaded our lives to break our relationship with the Father. The words of the "General Confession" of the *Book of Common Prayer* never were written for mere liturgical effect; they are a part of the "litanies of nations," welling "up from the burning core below:" "We have left undone those things which we ought to have done; and we have done those things which we ought not to have done; and there is no health in us."

It is self-love and self-will that lies at the root of this separation. The unity and peace of the family of God is broken by the impulsive, stubborn self-seeking of the Prodigal Son. This parable of Jesus is drawn out with absolute fidelity to the facts of the Christian experience. The putting of self before others and the choice of one's own pleasures at the expense of all sense of filial and fraternal duty is the result of a sinful will, and the defiance of the Father's love.

Sin is an awful fact in life. It is not the supreme fact. It would be if there were no possibility of a return home on the part of the child who has separated himself from the Father's house. However viewed, nevertheless, sin is something indescribably dreadful. The way to measure its dire quality is to

regard the preciousness of that which it invades and destroys. It does no less than shatter the perfection of the family of God.

The deepest experiences of the soul show us that sin is more than a misfortune; it is more than a trace of the imperfect borne by an upward-struggling humanity. It is an inborn tendency and native warp of personality as well as an act of a definite quality. It involves us in guilt; it brings upon us penalty. We come into conditions of distress. "Wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?"[7] This is not a cry of despair from a weakling; it is the outburst of a strong man. The Christian people have joined Paul in a great chorus of thanksgiving for rescue and relief. "I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord."

The experience of the Christian people is consistent in declaring that sin is not the final fact about life; that there is pardon, and restoration, and joy possible. They have found it so. They have found it in Christ.

Tracing back this assurance to its sources we find that it comes first of all from the Bible. Here in a collection of 66 books there is a transcendent unity of purpose. God the Father is portrayed as disclosing in history a purpose of redemption and pardon. He is gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy. He has been doing for man in the past just what man in the present needs to have done for him. He promises that he will do this for every man who will meet the terms of his gracious invitation. As a man who always spoke calmly and sincerely said to me, "I have found my God in my Bible and on my knees."

Here, then, our souls, craving knowledge and help, find what they need, and out of this experience grows a doctrine that these are really divine books. They minister with success to the spirit in all its various moods and necessities, and their inspiration, which is primarily an inspiration in point of authorship, stands attested by what they have done and are doing for the Christian people.

Many sensitive spirits have felt keenly the modern process of criticism through which trained scholars are causing these books

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[7] Ro., 7 : 24-25.

to pass. So far, however, as the critical process has established its results these have not invalidated the Christian Scriptures as serving their self-expressed purpose, "to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus."[8] It is because these sacred writings perform this function that they are divinely given.

When we come to look in detail at that consciousness of salvation from sin and new life of holy purpose which is disclosed in the experience of all Christians we find its essential elements consistently set forth.

In the Bible is contained the record of a purpose of divine redemption from sin, moving up to its realization through a historic personality, Jesus of Nazareth. The Christians have trusted this record so much that they have formed a personal devotion to him. The witnesses to this fact, namely, that they have found help and hope and joy and God through devotion to this Christ, are now living and have lived, numbered by millions. The testimony is concurrent for centuries. Those nearest the time in which Jesus lived are also consistent in the testimony which they bear to the place that Jesus held in their salvation. A man in the year 1905 in America and the Apostle Paul in the first century in Oriental Palestine is each saved from sin in the same way, by faith in Christ. Then, still further, this testimony as to what Jesus does is in exact accord with the witness which he bore concerning his own purpose and work in the world. He claimed to come in order that men might be saved from their sins; millions of men bear witness that they have been saved by him. This means mutual confirmation. The experience of the Christian people is not a delusion; men who stole are not made to steal no more by a delusion. Only a living Lord, a divine Person, could do what Jesus claimed to do; the One who does what we know has been done for us must be a divine Saviour.

From this claim which Jesus makes for himself, and which is warranted by the Christian experience, we draw the great, central doctrine of the Incarnation. "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us." In a unique, historic person, Jesus of

[8] 2 Tim., 3 : 15.

Nazareth, the infinite God has disclosed himself in the terms of a perfect human life. Here is at length revealed the holy will and the perfect love of God. Jesus is Son of God and perfect man. In the perfection of his humanity his divinity is realized. This is a unique Incarnation. Jesus is not one among many sons of God. He is Son of God, isolated, unique. This is the fact of experience confirming the fact of history. Specific and detailed doctrines of this unique Incarnation are many; none ever rises to do full justice to the facts lying deep in the consciousness of the Christians who have found in Jesus their Saviour.

The Christian does not take Jesus simply as example, or teacher. He finds in him a divine Saviour from sin. Nothing less than this exalted title will meet the facts of the experience of men and women living today and saved by the divine Christ.

The spirit stands in constant need of help in its struggle and of instruction in its ignorance. These two things, knowledge and power, are constantly demanded by the soul of every person. The little child asks for help to be good; the aged saint longs for power in the stress of his spirit.

The experience of the Christian people has been uniform in attestation to the fact that, through a power outside themselves, they are kept true to God in Christ. The normal experience is described in the New Testament in these words:

You "who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation." [9]

The witnesses to the fact are as many as are the faithful Christian disciples in all the ages.

Coming to the interpretation of the facts we find them wonderfully in accord with what we would expect from the earthly life of Jesus and from his promises to his disciples. He was himself in ceaseless communion with the Father, and in the great times of distress he was ministered to by the heavenly powers. If they did not come to his relief in Gethsemane it was not because they were not available. Twelve legions of angels [10] stood ready to smite betrayer and captors. The will of perfect obedience alone restrained them.

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[9] 1 Pet., 1 : 5.
[10] Matt., 26 : 53.

This great doctrine of the Holy Spirit is one of the neglected truths of our time. It receives new help from the history of the Christian people.

The activities of a person are assigned to this Divine Power in the descriptions of it in the New Testament. The effort to discriminate between person and person involves us in hopeless confusions of ontological speculation. This confusion has resulted in the neglect of the doctrine. It is a pity. It would be far better for us to struggle together to restore the doctrine of the Holy Spirit to a leading and permanent place in the activity of the Christian people, than for us to contend much about questions of metaphysics and criticism. The great testimony of the Christian people is that the Father is even now working upon his children. We are in the midst of the age of the Spirit. All the activities of the spirit are like those of the body, reactions upon an impulse from without. A man in his dream clenches his fist and smites a foe in the air; it is simply the physical response to the memory of a past peril. His action is not primary action at all; it is reaction upon spiritual impulse. The whole sphere of spiritual effort is of the same nature. We are constantly played upon by spiritual force. The fundamental philosophy of the Christian people must be a spiritual idealism summed up by such words as Paul's propositions:

"For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things." [11]

and

"One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all." [12]

We dare not isolate the doctrine of the Holy Spirit to the ecstasy of saints and the trial hours of the spirit. The Christian people live in the atmosphere of the Holy Spirit. The farmer plows his furrow, the machinist shapes his steel, the preacher makes ready his message, and the saint of the Lord closes his world-weary eyes in the same radiant atmosphere of spiritual reality. The preacher must be true to the boundless promise and joy of this central fact of the reality, the vital nearness, and the ceaseless ministry of the Holy Spirit. We can assure men

[11] Ro., 11 : 36.
[12] Eph., 4 : 6.

with whom the battle of life is going hard that there is help at hand in the Spirit; we can stand with those who mourn and affirm the comfort of the Spirit; we can bring to strong men the claim of the Spirit upon their service. The great truth receives little help from abstract discussions of identity, procession, and adoration; the significant element in the creeds is that the Spirit "spake by the prophets." This personal, historic, and present ministry is witnessed by the experience of the Christian people.

In this experience there is also evident a consciouness of some sort of distinction in the very being of God, a social element which answers the social constitution of man himself. In the ancient form of Christian baptism, in the "Gloria Patri," in the literature of doctrine and devotion alike this feeling has found expression. There is essential unity and diversity consistent in the very being of God. The reduction of the seeming paradox is subject matter for metaphysics in its profoundest processes. Every Christian who is somehow aware of the fact bows reverently to confess its inscrutable character. If Jesus had regarded a solution of the problem necessary to human salvation he surely would have given it as part of his teaching. He saves man from sin without the solution of the mystery; therefore the solution is not necessary. The reason why Christians remain untroubled by the persistent mystery is because Jesus was untroubled by it and silent concerning it.

If we turn now to the central confession which is peculiar to the Christian people it is this — they bear witness to the fact that a new relationship to God the Father as known in Christ results in a changed life, and that this new relationship is established in some way through the same living Christ. Thus Jesus becomes their Saviour. The new life is mediated by him; indeed, it is himself. This is a consistent witness of Christian experience from first to last.

Two questions must arise:

1. How is Christ appropriated as Saviour?
2. How does Christ save men?

I have put the questions in this order because the experience arises in this order. Men do appropriate Christ as Saviour because they believe that he can save them; but the full conviction

of his Saviourhood comes as a result and not as a preliminary of salvation.

The most perfect objective expression of the experience is the parable of the Prodigal Son.

The soul's awakening begins in a new realization of its true nature and its new spiritual possibility, on the background of its present isolation and separation. We found ourselves in straits and we knew that we had no business to be there feeding swine. The persistent knowledge that the Father loves us calls us home, and Jesus is the way thither. In faith, which is not a matter of intellectual assent but an act of voluntary trust, we arise and go to the Father. Then begins a new relationship, that is, a new life. We are saved through Christ.

In attempting to interpret this experience in which we all have repeated the conditions of the parable, we shape the doctrine of conversion. It means radically the change of relation. Sometimes it necessitates the sudden rending of old ties and the quick linking of new bonds. In such a case the soul's experiences in conversion may be very sudden and intense.

There are many cases, however, in which the relation between God in Christ and the personal spirit have always been so intimate and sweet that the great choice has been distributed through all the good choices of the life. Even then, at some time there is such clearness and depth of feeling as makes a definite and critical decision evident. Christian nurture never can dissipate the crisis of conversion. It is not an accidental phenomenon in the storm and stress of adolescent change. It is the soul's free response to God in Christ.

It is an appreciation of the meaning of this crisis of conversion to the spirit, together with a consciousness of the eternal values of every action, which leads a preacher to insist with such earnestness upon the preciousness of the present moment. We regard all choices as permanent in their effect. We are what we are today because past choices are persistent. We set the soul's direction here. Through the episode of death we pass into another life. These earthly choices must be permanent for that after life. We have no grounds for knowledge beyond this pres-

ent, and with that conviction we preach to men and plead for decision now, the only moment that is really ours.

Out of Christian experience in the process of salvation comes the answer to the question, How does Jesus become the world's Saviour?

The experience of the Christian shows that, in the final analysis, God saves him by loving him. This is the attractive force in God. This is what revealed us when we "came to ourselves." This shows us the deformity of sin.

Jesus is the manifestation of the love of God for men. Thereby he becomes their Saviour. He displays the infinite tenderness and the suffering love of God.

Deep down in the heart of the Christian, not because he has been taught it, but because he feels it, lies another conviction which it is difficult to put into clear propositions. It is the certainty that the whole earthly life of Jesus, culminating in his death, did something for the salvation of the individual Christian which was unique and which he only could have done. Out of this conviction have grown the hymns of the church which express the Christian's conception of the Cross.

"We may not know, we cannot tell
What pains He had to bear;
But we believe it was for us
He hung and suffered there." [13]

Underneath all doctrines of Atonement, giving them substance and reality, lies this feeling of the Christian people. Sacrifice cannot be inconsistent with love. If sacrifice was necessary, love made it so. Indeed, the very constitution of the world requires renunciation. The innocent suffer for the guilty and vicariousness is an element in the whole world order.

"Entbehren sollst du! sollst entbehren!
Das ist der ewige Gesang
Der jedem an die Ohren klingt,
Den, unser ganzes Leben lang
Uns heiser jede Stunde singt." [14]

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[13] Mrs. C. F. Alexander, "There is a Green Hill far away."

[14] Thou shalt renounce and sacrifice thou must!
This is the everlasting song
That in the ear of each one rings,
That ever, through our whole life long,
Each moment hoarsely to us sings.
See James, "The Varieties of Religious Experience," 1902, p. 51.

No estimate of commercial values and no scheme of metaphysical satisfactions is great enough to comprehend or to express the manifestation of the essential altruism of the Father-God in the death of Jesus Christ. Human parenthood, which knows the anguish and the rapture of sacrifice, has no great difficulty in finding comprehensible in God what it knows to be necessary and consistent in itself. The Christian is not offended at the Cross. He is claimed by it. The Christian discovers that Jesus expended all the resources of his gracious being in order to show us what God's nature is. This involved facing man's death and expressing God's sacrificial altruism. He that hath seen Christ hath seen the Father. By this vision men have made felicitous for them what would otherwise be intolerable. Here they rest their souls and find peace and strength. The mystical union involves Calvary. Without this supreme event the Father would not have been unveiled and the ultimate meaning of the life of man on earth would not have been disclosed. The supreme expression of the Christian experience gathers therefore in the personal loyalty and service of the individual to the Master. It cries with the crusader,

> "Fairest Lord Jesus!
> Thou! my soul's glory, joy, and crown."

It utters its conviction and its love together in the words of St. Thomas, "My Lord and my God."[15] The final construction of the Christian experience in the terms of theology returns at last to the affirmation of St. Peter, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God."[16]

Ozora S. Davis.

*New Britain, Conn.*

[15] John, 20: 28.
[16] Matt., 16: 16.

# SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

If a text were needed to justify the selection of the theme which has been chosen for this occasion, it could be found several times over among the recorded utterances of the Great Teacher. Jesus again and again exhorted his disciples and hearers in one form or another to study the signs of the times, and he more than once rebuked the multitude for its lack of discernment and failure to understand the import of current events. "When it is evening ye say, it will be fair weather, for the heaven is red; and in the morning, it will be foul weather today, for the heaven is red and lowering. Ye know how to discern the face of the heaven, but ye cannot discern the signs of the times." "Learn from the fig tree her parable," he said to the inner circle of his disciples; "when her branch is become tender and putteth forth its leaves, ye know that the summer is nigh. Even so also, when ye see these things come to pass, know ye that he is nigh." Jesus not only urged his followers to study the signs of the times, but he was himself in this as in all things an example and inspiration to them. No one understood so well as he the movement and import of the times in which he lived. His eye penetrated the secrets of Providence, as well as of nature, and read in advance the coming of his own kingdom. Many of the parables of our Lord are but prophecies of things about to come to pass; and his gospel was truth for the present because it was truth for the future and for all time to come. Jesus is indeed the only teacher whose words have the clear ring of eternity. He alone, though a child of his times, was likewise a child of all times and seasons and surroundings. He spoke the dialect of the day and of a particular locality, but uttered truths that never wax old.

But while our Lord urged his hearers to watch for the signs of the times, he warned them against being deceived by false

* Address at the opening of the Seminary year September 28, 1904.

prophets and superficial appearances. "If any man shall say unto you, Lo here is the Christ, or Lo there, believe it not." Jesus recognized that his disciples and followers would be subject to a two-fold danger, either of failing to recognize the oncoming of the kingdom, or of imagining it at hand when there was but the simulation of the divine presence. In this, as in all else, man is subjected to the severest test and must learn by experience and failure the straight and narrow way of life. And nothing but the single eye and the pure heart and the steadfast faith will keep his feet in the pathway that groweth brighter and brighter unto the perfect day. Our divine Master, however, has given us special criteria by which to test the signs of the times and to discover whether or no they be the beckonings of God to enter in to the widening fields of his providence and grace. How often did he illustrate the truth which he wished to convey to his disciples by some incident or example drawn from Old Testament history. He assumed that the principles of the kingdom could be deduced from God's dealing with Israel in days gone by. The same Lord had been and still was over all, in all and through all. What God had done was an earnest of what he would do, and in the long reaches of history the lesson could be read and understood. There was besides this advantage, that subsequent events had proved all things and declared whether or not they were of God. Gamaliel was right when he urged the sanhedrim to take heed and refrain from the persecution of the apostles, for, said he, "if this counsel or this work be of men, it will be overthrown, but if it is of God, ye will not be able to overthrow them, lest haply ye be found even to be fighting against God." Prophecy fulfilled is no longer prophecy, but actuality, and the facts of history are the doings of God and bear the stamp of his judgment. Jesus's appeal to the history of Israel was an appeal to God, who had written his warnings and exhortations in accomplished facts across the centuries.

But Jesus by no means restricted himself or his disciples to Hebrew history for examples of God's dealings with man. Wherever the footprints of the divine presence could be discerned, there was a lesson for man in the ways of God. Besides, in so clearly and fully forecasting the future of his kingdom

our Lord put his own teachings to the test of time. "When these things come to pass, know ye that he is nigh." The disciples after his departure found frequent fulfillments of their Master's teaching in the events and occurrences about them. Had he not promised to be with them alway even unto the end? And that presence was a guarantee of his guidance and help. As the years passed by, the early disciples appealed more and more to the Lord's dealings and deliverances. What he had done for them was an earnest of what he would do. The Master's words, though uttered in years gone by, were still living oracles, because they had been fulfilled over and over again. It is not strange therefore that the teachings of Christ should very soon have assumed canonical authority, for they had been verified in experience and proven by fact. The same impulse which canonized the Gospels also led to the canonization of the apostolic writings. These too were transcripts of Christian experience and accounts of the ongoing of the kingdom of God. But when the New Testament Scriptures had received canonical authority, the Church was more and more inclined to restrict its appeal to them and to the Old Testament, neglecting the larger range of the divine activity. This, no doubt, was a necessity of the times, since the babel of voices in those days was too confusing, and the testimony of experience and the witness of accomplished facts too unverifiable. However, that is no reason why we should neglect the pages of Christian history and cease to search for the lessons of providence written across the centuries. The history of the Christian Church is a new chapter in the unfolding of God's ways in the world, and it is rich in admonition, reproof, correction, exhortation, and encouragement. What Christ has done with and for his Church is an assurance of what he will do. In the long stretches of time the plans and purposes of God stand revealed. It took ages to produce the diamond and deposit the gold and silver in the earth, but their presence there is sure evidence of the activity of the Creator and Ruler of all. So may we prove our faith by delving into the past and discovering the deposits of truth from generation to generation. There is no more trustworthy guide than accomplished facts, when subsequently witnessed by God as his

divine judgment. Each age has its lesson, each epoch its warning and exhortation, and we do well to search the pages of Christian history for the lessons of life. Our own age must, of course, receive particular attention. We are dealing with the present, but in view of the future, and must look for the guidance and help of God. The present age, however, is the most difficult of all to comprehend and interpret. Events have not yet received the divine stamp, and the ultimate outcome cannot always be discerned. Things indeed are in the making, and we ourselves are a part of the process. The stream of time carries us along, so that we can with difficulty get and keep our bearings; our point of view is constantly shifting, and we cannot easily distinguish the transient ripple from the onflowing current of the river. The effort, however, to understand the movements of our own times and the import of things transpiring about us ought not to be abandoned. In practical business affairs men never cease to try to forecast the future, since much of their success depends upon their ability to do so. The same is true of the statesman, and indeed of all world-workers. We live in the present, but for the future, the harvest lies ahead, though it is always seedtime. Man is a child of the past and of the present, but an heir of the future. This is true both of the individual and of the race, and in spite of the many and great changes that have come over the world, human nature is after all a remarkably constant factor. It is this permanency in man and mankind that makes the past so rich in lessons for us all. Genuine experience, whether of the individual or of the race, is valuable, both for the life that now is and for that which is to come. This is the justification for any appeal to history as a guide of life. Jesus assumed without hesitation that the experience of Israel under Jehovah's leadership was a sure basis of judgment as to what his own followers might expect of God's guidance and mercy. He cited the experience of individual Israelites likewise as a warning or exhortation to his disciples and hearers, and his apostles followed in his footsteps, making both his words and the words of the Old Covenant a basis for their teaching and preaching. The Christian Church has ever done the same, appealing to the Old and New Testaments as a

revelation of God, not only for men of past ages, but for all times and places. The Christian preacher of today grounds his sermon in the Word of God, and this he does because he believes that Word of universal and eternal validity. If, then, the spiritual teacher appeals to Biblical history for divine instruction and guidance, may he not also appeal to the history of the Christian Church to the same end? It is, no doubt, very fortunate that our Bible has been restricted to a few inspired writings. Plainly this was the plan of providence, but no interdict has been placed upon the subsequent pages of history. Jesus' assurance of his continual presence with his Church is indeed a sufficient justification for our use of Christian history as a guide in determining the will and ways of God. History is, of course, a relative science, and our deductions from it are only approximations to the truth. Yet is it the most inclusive and conclusive of all the sciences; for everything scientific has a history by which it must be judged. History gives us totality of results and often suggests final issues. It includes all and arbitrates all. The history of philosophy, for example, takes in all systems of philosophy and it suggests perhaps the final philosophy. The history of religions compares all religions and is bound to say which is the best. The same is true of ethics and social theories. The history of Christianity is the history of everything pertaining to it and ought to be a final judgment about it, a final judgment about its methods of propagation, its rites of worship, its polity, its discipline, its ethics, its doctrine. It ought to suggest the wisest forms of all these, and point out the chief aberrations and perversions of the truth. Surely the lessons to be learned from Christian history are many and valuable. There are both warnings and encouragements in the record of the past. Error has ofttimes had its day and may yet prevail, but in the long run truth will triumph, because it has in it the promise and potency of him who is the Way, the Truth and the Life. "Fret not thyself because of evil doers, neither be thou envious at the wicked, for there shall be no reward to the evil man, and the lamp of the wicked shall be put out."

The study of our own times is, as has been remarked, an imperative duty for those who would bring the gospel to bear upon

the minds and hearts of the men of today. The task, however, of accurately estimating the forces at present at work in the world is supremely difficult. Modern civilization is so complex and intricate as to well nigh defy analysis. However, every teacher and leader must attempt to determine the present trend of things in order that he may be a *leader and guide.* In seeking to estimate our own age we very naturally revert to that epoch in the history of the world most nearly parallel with our own times. It is quite true that there are no real parallels in history, yet the resemblances between two epochs are ofttimes so close as to justify a careful comparison of the two, and the ultimate outcome of the movements of one epoch may suggest dangers to be avoided or ends to be sought in a future age. With these thoughts and principles in our minds permit me to gather up a few lessons for the present by an appeal to a past period in the history of our Christian faith.

If one were asked to name the period or generation in past times most nearly parallel with our own, he would almost surely specify the age of the Antonines, or the second century of our Christian era. The number of points of resemblance between these two epochs is certainly very great and striking, and it is these resemblances to which I would invite your particular attention. A brief sketch of the condition of things in the middle of the second century will form the basis of our comparison. In the first place, the political status of the Græco-Roman world at that time was the result of two or three centuries of Roman conquest. Rome had broken down all the barriers between the nations surrounding the Mediterranean and had brought those nations under her sway. She had thus set free the various national ideas and ideals, and these began to mingle with one another and produce a sort of cosmopolitan politics. In the second place, Rome had cleared the seas of pirates, and had connected the various parts of the empire by a magnificent system of highways, thus preparing the way for commerce and trade and travel, and everybody set out to explore the world and barter his wares. In the third place, the old systems of philosophy — Greek, Roman, and Oriental — had likewise been to a large extent broken down, and a new spirit of eclecticism was pervading

the thought of the first and second Christian centuries. The philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, of the Stoics and Epicureans, as well as the Oriental philosophies, had lost their hold upon the minds of men, and the eclectic spirit was assimilating this and that idea from this and that philosophy, and fusing them all into a sort of universal philosophy. In the fourth place, the systems of morals of the various nations round about the Mediterranean had likewise been relaxed, and travel and intercourse tended to produce a cosmopolitan spirit in morality and relax the old national ethical principles. In the fifth place, what had occurred in the political, commercial, philosophical, and moral worlds, had also occurred in the religious. By breaking down the barriers of the nations, Rome had set the various national religions free to migrate into other lands and climes. The result was that each religion tended to become more or less eclectic and cosmopolitan, assimilating elements from the other religions with which it came in contact. Besides, immigrants from this and that land settling in the larger cities of the empire brought with them their national worships, establishing them alongside the native worship of the city. It thus came to pass that in the great capitals and chief cities of the empire every form of worship and religion had its temple and altar and devotees. The wise men of the day encouraged the belief that all religions were equally false, while the common people were coming to think that all religions were to a greater or less extent equally true. The world never before had been brought under the sway of a single power, and made to feel a sense of unity and community of thought and life.

If now we compare our own age with the age of the Antonines, we shall find a striking parallelism in the trend of things then and now. Very shortly after the reign of the Antonines the inroad of the barbarians disrupted the Roman Empire and destroyed that earlier sense of unity. And from that day to our own times the world has been broken up into rival and hostile camps, and men have failed to realize that they were anything but enemies. With the opening, however, of the nineteenth century, and the introduction of steam and electricity into the world's commerce, a new sense of unity has been de-

veloping among the nations. What Rome had done by arms and armies has been more recently accomplished by commerce and intercourse among the nations and by the pervasive influence of Christianity. A new spirit of cosmopolitanism has come over our world, and the sense of unity and community is growing stronger from decade to decade. This is true in spite of the fact that the various nations still maintain individual entity and even encourage and seek to intensify their peculiar national characteristics. After more than fifteen centuries the world has again become one, and a new epoch in the history of mankind has been inaugurated. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to enumerate all the forces that have contributed to the unification of the modern world. They are manifold, diverse, and unequal in influence and power. First among them we should doubtless place the spread of our Christian faith, which proclaims the brotherhood of man as a cardinal doctrine, and insists upon the unity of the race under a beneficent Creator and Ruler. Notwithstanding the narrowness and bigotry and bitterness that are still rife in the world, the sense of brotherhood has been emerging among the nations, and men are realizing their world-wide relationships and obligations. But the spread of Christian ideas and ideals has been greatly facilitated by the development of the means of international intercourse. The railroad and the steamship, the telegraph and the telephone, the printing press, science, travel, trade, immigration, all these and many other things have contributed to the propagation of the religion of peace and good-will among men. And the result has been a new sense of world-citizenship, something like that which prevailed eighteen hundred years ago within the confines of the Roman Empire. I do not now speak of the sense of *brotherhood,* for that was scarcely yet dreamed of in the ancient world; and even in modern Christendom it is not the dominant note. However, progress has been made, and the development of the fraternal spirit is the measure of the advance of Christianity in its conquest of the world. Although the sense of brotherhood was well-nigh wanting in the age of the Antonines, the sense of world-citizenship had entered into the thought and life of the times. This was indeed the characteristic note.

Men were fascinated and even dazzled by the greatness of the world and with the thought that they were citizens of this universal empire. Gibbon calls this "the period in the history of the world when the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous." And there was, no doubt, an equality of justice and opportunity, a freedom of thought and life, a promise and expectation of the future, which has scarcely been excelled or equaled from that day to this. But the world was too large and complex and intricate. The minds of men were confused and confounded by the greatness and multiplicity of things. The statesman, the economist, the philosopher, the moral and religious leaders were each and all staggered by the stupendous problems that pressed upon them for solution. And the common people were likewise adrift from their ancient moorings and uncertain as to where the new currents and tides might carry them. Men from very necessity were compelled to become eclectics in every realm and range of life, and they were snatching at this and that passing phase of thought for guidance, or were indifferently drifting on the surface of the sea. The sudden enlargement of the world, the lifting of the horizon of life, the ebb and flow of the tides from east to west and west to east across the empire, the mingling of the diverse currents of national life and thought, the disappearance of the old landmarks and highways, the discrediting of ancient traditions and practices, the inrush of new ideas and ideals, the clamor of strange voices assuring of leadership, the thirst for novelty on the part of the newly-awakened, and the satiety and ennui of the epicure, these and the like are the characteristic and distinguishing features of the age of the Antonines. And in enumerating them we seem almost to be composing the picture of our own times. Our horizon has been immensely enlarged in recent times through the study of astronomy, geology, archæology, history, and the opening up of the world by commerce and international comity. The ebb and flow of the tides westward and eastward have carried new and strange things to us and to every shore. The intermingling of the diverse and divergent currents of thought and life of widely separated nations through travel, trade, immigration, language-study, translation of literature and

daily press reports has given us a sense of world-citizenship. The destruction or at least defacement of many of the old landmarks and guideposts has left us uncertain as to the pathway of true progress. The discrediting of ancient traditions and customs has relaxed our hold upon the past. The inflow of new ideas from far and near, the rapid and limitless development of the natural sciences, the babel of voices clamoring for leadership in the political, social and religious worlds, have well-nigh swamped our minds and paralyzed our thoughts. The world has expanded too rapidly for our weal, and has become too large for happiness and welfare. We, too, like the citizens of the second country, have become cosmopolitan in mood and feeling, and eclectic in thought and life. The pollen of every civilization has fertilized every other civilization and developed new kinships and unwonted affinities. Patriotism has grown pale and languid. It is popular to pose as a cosmopolite, to wear the badge of world-citizenship. We fashion our ideas and principles and creeds in the light of the infinite past and in the presence of the resounding cosmos. No wonder that there is everywhere a din of voices, a clashing of opinions, a creaking of the creeds! No wonder also at the strange products and by-products of this cross-fertilization! The -isms and -osophies and -ologies multiply on every side. There is Brigham Young and his claim to a divine revelation by which he would set aside the most fundamental and sacred law of the family; there is Mrs. Eddy with her assumption of esoteric wisdom and her pretensions to final authority in all matters of religion; there is Alexander Dowie with his preposterous claim to leadership and apostleship; there are the Doukhobors again on the trek for a warmer clime; there is the Holy Ghost and Us Society, with its weird fanaticism. These and the like are symptomatic of the confusion and anarchy that prevail in the American ecclesiastical and religious world. And when we turn to the philosophical and theological worlds we find the aberrations and vagaries and extravagances no less numerous or extreme. The same is true of the political, industrial, social, moral, and educational worlds. Everywhere there is conflict and widely divergent views and practices. The minds of men are distraught and bewildered by the multiplicity of counsel

and the clamor of strident voices. The world is too large and complex and intricate for the most of us, and we are unable or unwilling to follow the pathway which previous generations and centuries have blazed out for us. But in thus describing and portraying our own times we seem almost to be sketching and filling in the picture of the Græco-Roman civilization of the second century. You will note one great fundamental difference between this age and the age of the Antonines, viz. the vitalizing presence and pervasive influence of Christianity. Christendom has to a certain degree replaced heathendom, else were our times as ominous as those ancient days, and our decline and fall as inevitable as that of the Roman Empire. Christianity is the salt of the earth, and ten righteous men may yet save the city from destruction.

In drawing this historical parallel and in calling your attention to the resemblances between these two widely separated ages, I have had, as was previously said, this object in view, to develop some lessons and principles for our guidance as religious teachers and leaders from the example and experience of the leaders of the Church of Christ in the second century. The missionaries of the Cross went out into that wide world of which we have been speaking, into a world that was cosmopolitan, eclectic, curious, inquisitive, occasionally indifferent and blasé, and proclaimed the gospel of salvation through Jesus Christ. Many communities received the message with joy and gratitude, while in other places the seed fell by the wayside or among thorns. But wherever the gospel truth found a lodgment and an acceptance it was in a mind already surcharged with ideas of religion, morality, philosophy, theology and the like. It is not strange, therefore, but inevitable that various misconceptions and misconstructions of Christianity arose here and there in the effort on the part of the new convert to adjust the Christian teaching to his previous and still deeply cherished views. There is no such thing as an empty mind, or soulless heart. Christianity in gaining an entrance into the pagan mind would of course burn up the dross of the old faith and displace the plainly conflicting views of duty and the utterly irreconcilable ideas of divine things. But this process of expulsion was always

a more or less gradual one, and would rarely if ever be complete and final. Besides, many possessors of an eclectic and composite faith were more curious about Christianity than desirous of its blessings, and simply borrowed this and that truth from it and fused them with their old theological and religious beliefs and practices. We might accordingly expect and do actually find in the second century every variety and degree of Christian profession, from such as St. Paul's, who determined to know only one thing, viz. Jesus Christ and him crucified, to that of the veriest Gnostic pretender and juggler. Every vagary and aberration in morality, religion and theology was found among those professing the Christian faith. The Youngs, the Eddys, the Dowies, and the Sanfords of our day are rather pale recrudescent incarnations of the self-constituted religious leaders in the early history of the Christian Church. And the historian, who also has the insight of a prophet, is not surprised at this modern resurgence of second century freaks with their revamping of diverse ancient fallacies. For like causes and conditions will ever produce like results. A great cycle in the history of the world has been completed; we are beginning another cycle and are now passing through the chaotic and nebulous period, and must wait for a reintegration and recrystallization of the more permanent forms of thought and life, so necessary to a stable and progressive Christian civilization. Our religious convictions and ideas have gone with the rest into the melting-pot, and we need not be surprised, though we may be distressed, at the queer and even fantastic shapes that appear and reappear from time to time. "That which is, hath been long ago; and that which is to be, hath long ago been." "Let not your heart be troubled."

Many of the most pressing and distressing problems of our day were equally urgent and acute eighteen hundred years ago. This is particularly true in the realm of theology and religion. "Who, or what is God?" "How did the world and man come into existence?" "What is the nature and origin of evil?" "How can man know God and be saved from the woes that beset his soul?" And the answers to these questions today are not unlike those given with such assurance in the second cen-

tury. Herbert Spencer's absolute, incomprehensible Power is but a slight advance upon the Stoic-Platonic abstract First Cause, and is equally unknown and unknowable. And the Christian Scientist's definition of Deity can be duplicated in varying phrase from the writings of the ancient Gnostics. Moreover, the modern materialist's account of the origin of the world and of man, though less fantastic than the Gnostic account, is based upon the same general assumption of a blind, unconscious, primordial power gradually evolving a world of higher and higher forms of life, until man with his spark of divine intelligence arises as the climax of creation. Again, the reply made today by the materialist and also by the Christian Scientist to the question as to the origin and nature of evil was given by this and that school of Gnostics in the early centuries. Evil is a physical appetence, they tell us, a defect, an error, which will pass away as the evolutionary process proceeds and knowledge increases. Finally, the many diverse and divergent answers given by the various schools of thought in our day to the great questions as to how man can know God and be saved from sin, remind us strangely of the calm assurance of the New-Platonist, or Stoic, or Epicurean in the time of the Antonines. And we seem to hear again today the strident voice of the Gnostic, expounding his esoteric philosophy, or railing at the Hebrew Jehovah and his supposed revelation. "That which hath been long ago is that which is now once again."

But what, let us ask, was the Church of Christ doing in those early days? How did it meet the questions and queries of the times? Had it any plain, definite and satisfactory answer to the question as to who or what God was? or how the world and man came into existence? or what was the origin and nature of evil? or how can man learn to know God and be saved from sin?

The reply is that the Church for the most part, taking all the circumstances into consideration, kept a pretty level head, pure heart and steadfast faith. She endeavored to answer the fundamental questions of the religious life in accordance with the spirit, teaching and example of those from whom she had received her priceless heritage. She defended herself against the virulence of the Jews, the violence of the mob and the cal-

umny and ridicule of the world by an appeal to her ways and works in the Lord, and she challenged one and all to test her claims and doctrines by sound reasoning and a personal trial of the new faith. "By our fruits you may know us; our doctrines are the promises made to Abraham, Moses and David, which have been fulfilled in the coming of the Son of God, whose we are and whom we serve." Such in brief was the Christian's reply to those who stood aloof, looking askance or contemptuously at her simple faith and lowly life. It is true that a few of her philosophers, like Justin, essayed to meet the Hellenic and Hellenistic theologizers of the day in a dialectic contest on their own chosen ground, but it is a grave question whether this doughty champion of the faith really thereby advanced the cause for which he fought. This, at least, is surely true, that he won more converts by his dauntless death than by his skillful argumentation. Martyrdom was the Church's unanswerable reply to those who would gainsay her gospel of the future life. Willingness to go hence at the bidding of the Master was itself an assurance of unwavering faith in him and in his promises, and it was besides following in the footsteps of the Lord who had laid down his life and had risen again to glory and honor and immortality. "Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone. But if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." This, like most of the Master's utterances, was seen to be a truth of everlasting and universal validity. "The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church."

But the Church of the second century was obliged to contend with foes within her own ranks, as well as without in the world at large. And the former were by far the more dangerous and destructive to her peace and prosperity. There were the Gnostics, with their secret traditions, pious pretensions and extravagant claims to wisdom and understanding. There were the Marcionites, with their mission to revise the Scriptures and purge them of all false doctrines and error. There were the Montanists, with their prophetic gifts and ascetic scheme of life. These one and all were the true children of their day, whose heads and hearts were full of the confusion and turmoil of the times.

Attracted to Christianity by this or that element in the gospel message, they crowded into the Churches, where they very soon laid claims to leadership; and like all self-constituted apostles they ordered an advance to new and hitherto unheard-of positions. It was a trying time for the followers of the meek and lowly Nazarene. Whither should they turn for help and counsel? Their foes were they of their own household. But the Spirit of God and the instinct of self-preservation showed them the way. The genuine disciples of Christ bethought themselves of their many priceless possessions. There were the words of the Lord as recorded in well attested Gospels; there were the writings of the apostles, which bore the stamp of inspiration and authority. These they began to gather up and exhibit as the ultimate and sufficient standard of faith and practice. Then there was the old Baptismal Formula, which they declared to be a fair epitome of the gospel message, and by which they would test their faith and regulate their lives. And finally there were those trustworthy leaders in the Churches, whose pure and simple lives seemed like reproductions of the apostolic norm of faith and hope and love, and many of them had borne the burden and heat of the day. Surely they could be relied upon to pass along the deposit of faith which they had received from those who had gone before. Such was the three-fold answer which the Christian Churches made to the Gnostics, Marcionites, and Montanists, and to all who would add to or substract from the gospel as it had come from the Lord and his apostles. But here again certain doughty champions of the faith thought to rout the enemy by a more dextrous use of his own dialectical weapons. They laid hold, however, unwittingly of a two-edged sword, and the cause of Christ was hindered rather than helped by this voluntary tourney. The Master's example of self-restraint, his serene confidence in the ultimate triumph of the simple truth and the apostolic injunction to "preach the Word in season and out of season" were each and all for the time being forgotten by these zealous defenders of the faith. Could they but have merited the Lord's beatitude "Blessed are the meek," they and their successors would surely have "inherited the earth." Instead of sowing the Word, however, they sowed the

wind, and those who came after reaped the whirlwind. The plainness of the way, the simplicity of the truth and the potency of the life of Jesus were obscured and blurred and dissipated by the speculative exuberance of these Neo-Christian philosophers. It matters little now that they were unaware of the storm and stress to which they were involving the Church of Christ. They were opening its doors and windows to the tempest which was raging without, and to the swirl of the wildest notions of those turbulent times. The crisis which followed was the greatest and most perilous in the history of the Christian Church. That the faith of the disciples of the gentle Nazarene failed not is a tribute both to his divine care and to their steadfastness and devotion. And they have left on record encouragements and warnings for all time to come. In seeking now to discern the "signs of these times" we will do well, therefore, to study carefully this great epoch and crisis in the history of our Christian faith, for it will save us from many an aberration and delusion, and confirm our hearts in the eternal verities of God, made known to the world in and through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Edwin Knox Mitchell.

*Hartford, Conn.*

# Book Reviews.

Prof. Kent's *Beginnings of Hebrew History* is a harmony of the narrative portions of the Hexateuch and the Book of Judges, and not a history of the ancient Hebrews as its title suggests. It has long been recognized that we have a fourfold narrative of the origin of ancient Israel, just as we have a fourfold narrative of the life of Christ; and it is strange that the idea of making a harmony of these narratives analogous to the harmonies of the Gospels has not occurred sooner to somebody. Perhaps it has been the uncertainty of discriminating some of the sources that has delayed the appearance of such a book. Criticism has now advanced so far, however, that the limits of the documents are fairly clear. It is desirable, therefore, that we should have a work which will give us duplicate or triplicate narratives in parallel columns, so that we may compare them more easily. This is what Dr. Kent has given us in his Beginnings of Hebrew History. The order of arrangement is chronological, and the parallel narratives of the different sources are placed side by side in paragraphs after the manner of Gospel harmonies. The entire legislation of the Pentateuch is reserved for a separate volume, and only the narrative portions of the history are inserted here.

The aims of this book are: first, to classify the material logically; second, to compare the parallel accounts; third, to give a clear, modern translation; fourth, to indicate the divisions of the thought by accurate paragraphs and the poetry by printing in poetical form, and fifth, to give such introductions and footnotes as are necessary to justify a critical analysis.

All of these aims are praiseworthy except, perhaps, the first. A logical classification of the material is inconsistent with a harmonistic presentation of the subject. It necessitates that all laws should be put in one place, all poetry in another, and all narratives in a third place. But this leads frequently to an awkward cutting up of the material that is not desirable.

The harmonistic comparison of the material is well done. The only adverse criticism that can be made is, that a number of narratives have been omitted that might properly have been inserted, and that parallel accounts are not always printed in parallel columns. The translation is well done and takes the place of a commentary in most instances. The footnotes are judiciously selected, and give all the necessary information in regard to the reasons for a critical partition of the narrative. The introductions are rather historical discussions based upon the results of the analysis than explanations of the reasons for the analysis. As such they would more logically follow in an appendix than stand in their present position at the beginning of the book. The typographical execution of this work must have been difficult, and in the main a high degree of accuracy has been secured. The only serious difficulty is that the table of contents and classification on pp. xiii-xxxiv does not correspond in many

particulars with the body of the book. For some reason the proofreading has been carelessly done at this point, and one who wishes to ascertain Prof. Kent's view of the analysis dare not trust this table, but must in every case look up the passage in the body of the book. This is a serious difficulty for the busy student.

This book meets a long-felt need, and teachers of the Bible will be grateful to Dr. Kent for the energy with which he has carried through this difficult undertaking. (Scribner, pp. 382. $2.75 net.) L. B. P.

Anything that comes from the study of Prof. Burton of Chicago is sure to carry with it a clear impression of scholarliness of method and sanity of thought. This is true even when the products are as different as his two recent books (1) *A Short Introduction to the Gospels* and (2) *Studies in the Gospel according to Mark.*

In the former, the chapters, excepting that on the Synoptic Problem, present in somewhat revised form articles appearing in the Biblical World for 1898, 1899, and 1900 and subsequently reprinted in pamphlet form under the title "The Purpose and Plan of the Four Gospels."

The book gives us an investigation of the individual Gospels, together with a study of the problem arising from the interrelation of the Synoptists. The ground covered by the individual investigation is confined to the contents of the Gospels themselves and practically does not touch the field of the patristic testimony regarding them, the reason for which restriction, as given in the preface, is the purpose of the book to secure those facts concerning the motive and point of view of each of these Gospels which are most necessary for an intelligent interpretation of them.

This is a significant statement. If Biblical criticism is in order to the interpretation of the Bible writings, and the interpretation of these writings is in order to the formulation of our thinking about Christianity, then criticism's primary element must always be internal rather than external evidence — what the writings say about themselves rather than what the Fathers say about them. External evidence may or may not contribute to the establishment of the New Testament books as part of the records of the Apostolic age — as a matter of fact it contributes but little — but internal evidence must contribute much to that which is essential to such establishment, viz.: the books' internal consistency with such a dating. This point is a plain one in Paul's Epistles, claiming as they do his authorship. It is not wholly obscure in the Gospels, professing as they do to give a record of the ministry of Jesus. If a critical study of the contents of these Gospels shows a situation at variance with a claim to give a record of Jesus' ministry, *e. g.,* an ignorance of the times of Jesus or an influence of other times, an atmosphere apocryphal in character or self-contradictory in fact, then the acceptance of these Gospels as historically from the Apostolic age must be exceedingly difficult, and their value as material for our conception of Jesus and his religion exceedingly poor. To this it is no objection to urge that such criticism is essentially subjective. The subjective element must enter into all criticism. The only care is that it does not become arbitrary in its dominance over all other elements, so that criticism in its historical character becomes a farce.

The author's conception of criticism is brought out most clearly in

what is without question the strongest chapter in the book — the chapter on the Gospel of John; for here the author carries his criticism through on a basis of internal evidence that shows how misleading is the present day tendency which seeks to revert the problem of Fourth Gospel Criticism to the field of external evidence and so to discredit the work by which the scholars of recent years have established a practically first century date for the Gospel as we now possess it.

In this chapter the author, after a careful sifting of internal evidence to the conclusion that the narrative is of an eyewitness character, comes to the problem presented by chapter 21. He admits the hand of an editor in v. 24 — as in fact elsewhere through the Gospel — but holds to such a similarity of style between this concluding chapter and the rest of the Gospel as to necessitate an identity of authorship for all the book.

At the same time he recognizes evidence of frequent displacements in the order of the narrative (notably chap. 5, as related to chaps. 6 and 7; chap. 13 as related to chaps. 14-16; vs. 12-28 in chap. 18) which are due, evidently, to a later hand — whether editor, copyist, or binder it may be difficult to decide. But conscious of what he could call distinct lines of cleavage in the narrative, he suggests that the original apostolic writer did not compose an integral book, but, at various times, separate booklets, including chap. 21, which later were put in a narrative arrangement by the editor who testified to the eyewitness character of the contents. The booklets suggested by the author are: Bk. I, 1:1-18; Bk. II, 1:19-2:12; Bk. III, 2:13-3:36; Bk. IV, chap. 4; Bk. V, 5:1-47, 7:15-24; Bk. VI, chap. 6; Bk. VII, chaps. 7, 8; Bk. VIII, chaps. 9, 10:19-21; Bk. IX, 10:22-29, 1-18, 30-42; Bk. X, chap. 11; Bk. XI, chap. 12; Bk. XII, chaps. 13-17; Bk. XIII, chaps. 18-20; Bk. XIV, chap. 21.

The author gives an excellent discussion of the problem, and whether we can discern the lines of cleavage which he suggests we are impressed with the fresh and wholesome spirit in which the suggestions are made.

The treatment of Matthew is excellent, showing its broad Jewish Christian spirit in admirable light and so giving the Gospel a new dignity of its own. To this dignity might have been added the point of the Gospel's originality as a Greek writing — a point which criticism still has in debate.

Throughout his book he has done fine justice to the Evangelists in bringing to the front the religiously argumentative character of their writings. That which is so evident in the Fourth Gospel is, after all, a common trait of the writings of the Apostolic age and is shown by all the Synoptists.

We question, however, whether the author quite gets the spirit of the argument in Mark, which, reproducing as it does the common apostolic tradition as voiced in the preaching of Peter, aims, like all the preaching of that time, to present Jesus alike to the unbelief of the non-Christian and the faith of the Christian as the Saviour of men.

The chapter on Luke, while equally sane with those on the other Gospels, lacks somewhat in the fact that it ignores the relationship of motive behind the Gospel and the Book of Acts — a question which opens out a line of investigation, not only interesting in itself but quite essential to the best understanding of both writings.

The discussion of the Synoptic Problem, though constituting the new element in the book, does not impress us with the same freshness we find elsewhere and is not always clear. With this book on his shelves, however, many a busy and thoughtful pastor will find himself well abreast of the day's study and the richer in his knowledge of the Gospels he explains to men.

The author's second book is one of the Series of Constructive Bible Studies intended for classes in Secondary Schools and in the Secondary Department of Sunday-schools. It is based on the principle of explanatory notes followed by questions — the Gospel material being divided into natural sections suited for individual study. There are numerous illustrations, several good maps, and a dictionary of some fifteen pages covering words and phrases needing definition and explanation. A Foreword to the Pupil and a longer Preface to the Teacher lay down the lines on which the book may be serviceable to the one who uses it. This is a practical contribution to the new movement of religious education and is of not a little interest in the comparisons which it discloses with the Sunday-school note and question books of a generation or more ago. (University of Chicago Press, pp. viii, 144; pp. xxx, 248. Each $1.00.) M. W. J.

*Dar-ul-Islam* is an account of a journey through ten of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey by Captain Mark Sykes. Captain Sykes started in at Beirut, proceeded thence to Damascus, Palmyra, Hama, Homs, and Aleppo. From Aleppo he journeyed in the winter season to Marash, Zeitun, Derendeh, Urfa, Diarbekr, Mosul, Kerkuk, Sulimanieh, Amadia, Van, Tiflis, Batum, thence by sea to Constantinople, and overland again to Konia and out by Smyrna. He has a keen eye for the humorous, and his descriptions are amusing from beginning to end of the book, so that apart from any question of information the narrative is delightful reading. He has also the trained eye of the military observer for political and military conditions and his narrative is of undoubted geographical value. Throughout his journey he kept an accurate record of distances, and in many details he has corrected the current maps of Northern Syria and Asia Minor. His insight into native character and his observation of native customs are unusually keen. His point of view is the usual one among English military officers; his sympathies are all with the existing government, and he has no appreciation of the wrongs of the Armenians, or of the legitimacy of their efforts to liberate themselves. The Armenian massacres he regards as due to the Armenians themselves, and thinks that the Turks were entirely in the right in doing just what they did. He blames the American missionaries in Asia Minor for stirring up the native Christians and making them dissatisfied with their lot and so bringing down upon them the wrath of the government. He has no patience with efforts to bring higher education to Orientals. Like most English officials in India, he thinks that education unfits the native for his old life and does not qualify him to enter upon a new life. He is also cynically skeptical in regard to the advantages of Western learning and thinks that the East is perhaps better off on the whole for being left without it. The remarks on page 16 are characteristic of his point of view.

"Their lives are clean and moral, they know nothing of the evils of

civilization and luxury, and rare deeds of violence, owing to their fiery tempers, are the only social crimes known among them. The man who took the Bedawin from their present state of happiness and purity, and taught them to be civilized, to be rotted by foul diseases, to be emasculated by drink, to leave their tents and herds, to become spies, lawyers, soldiers, thieves, discontented citizens, millionaires, and prigs would be committing a crime crying to heaven for vengeance. Therefore you leading-article writers and mission teachers beware how you approach the Bedow with your vessels of exceedingly sticky American varnish."

Apart from these opinions, which disclose the well-known prejudices of the English military caste, the book is full of acute observations and of the liveliest sort of descriptive narrative. It is sumptuously gotten up with superb photographs of scenery and of costumes, but the drawings by the author himself are too crude to properly find a place in the volume. (Scribner's importation, pp. 290. $5.00 net.) L. B. P.

Books on Islam by missionaries have not always enjoyed the best reputation for scholarship and insight, and their reputations have been mostly as their deserts. But we must put in a very different class Mr. W. A. Shedd's *Islam and the Oriental Churches.* It is a really sane, dependable, and intelligent treatment of the historical relationships between Christianity and Islam. Mr. Shedd deals with such aspects as the influence of Christianity on Muhammad and his doctrine; of Christian theology on the development of the theology of Islam; of the theory and practice of Muslim rulers towards Christian organizations and individual Christians; of the conception of toleration in Islam; of the reciprocal and antagonistic propaganda of the two faiths and of their apologetics; of the final crushing of the Christian civilization by the Mongols; and of the methods to be followed in the revivifying of the native Oriental churches of today. The territory covered is of necessity narrow and the treatment has to be undetailed, but Mr. Shedd has drawn much really new material from Syriac sources and his book is in no sense a rehash of old stuff. As for his ideas, it will be well for all students of missions to consider carefully what he says on the nature of Muslim toleration, on the curious form, and even lack, of missionary zeal in the early Christian church of Syria, and on the problems of today in dealing with the Oriental communions. The last will arouse most controversy, as a practical question naturally might. To the present reviewer the policy of renewing these organizations from within rather than of erecting other reformed bodies to compete with them without commends itself much more than it does to Mr. Shedd. But, however that may be, this book should be read by all missionaries in Muslim lands. (Presb. Board of Pub., pp. viii, 254, map. $1.25 net.)

D. B. M.

If anyone wishes a short, readable, and thoroughly up-to-date history of Egypt, he may be heartily commended to Messrs. P. E. Newberry and J. Garstang's *Short History of Ancient Egypt.* It is the merest sketch — a sufficient outline for a first introduction — is very readable and is abreast of the latest results. It contains also sections on the life of the different periods; on art and industry, social conditions, religion, etc. The index is

adequate, but the maps might be clearer. (Dana Estes & Co., pp. xii, 200. $1.20 net.) D. B. M.

The widespread interest in the subject of the origin of religion and the upbuilding or support of some theory as to the stages through which religion in its evolution passed has tended to give to most anthropological presentations of the religions of savage peoples a decidedly polemic trend. When not polemic there has too frequently been the obvious effort to crowd the phenomenology of the religious life into a mold of preconception as to what it ought to be. Some gain accrues when a writer has such positive views as to the primitive form of religion and the processes of its early development that the book of query is closed and he can with a calm spirit devote himself to the study and orderly presentation of the facts as they come under his careful observation. Such is the case with Rev. R. H. Nassau, M.D., S.T.D., for forty years a missionary of the Presbyterian Board in Western Africa. At a time when comparatively few men were approaching the subject with a spirit of scientific sympathy, Dr. Nassau from the very commencement of his missionary labors was drawn to the close study of the religion of the people throughout the wide district covered by his missionary labors. Granted, by a wise special dispensation of his board, time to collect, classify, and publish the results of his study, he has given in *Fetichism in West Africa* a book of immense interest and great anthropological value. In about fifteen pages Dr. Nassau expresses his own belief in the Biblical narrative as giving a correct statement of the beginning of the religious life among men; states, in substantial accord with Andrew Lang, his reasons for the conviction that the religion of the African natives shows clear proof of the degeneracy from a primitive monotheism, and shows the present belief in a real but practically negligible supreme God. This being settled, he is free to devote all the rest of his book to describing without prejudice the characteristics of West African religion as it exists in daily life and practice. As has been already remarked, there are very great advantages in this mental attitude. As one reads the book he sees the negro just as he is. He is made acquainted with his Fetichism in its various elements, and in its effects on the whole social life. The immense amount of material is admirably arranged and clearly presented. One sees the social life of these tribes as it is lived out in all its interlockings of government, religion, domestic relations. There is an atmosphere of modestly assured first-hand knowledge which makes it possible for the author to employ the recorded observations of other men with independence, and yet to the added interest of the reader. The work is immensely interesting, is of large value, and anew puts the world of science under obligation to the missionary. (Scribner, pp. xviii, 389. $2.50.) A. L. G.

Presumably it is necessary to use hard outlines and glaring colors if young minds are to be reached. Yet such things jar and may lead to recoil in later life. Ralph E. Diffendorfer's *Child Life in Mission Lands,* a mission study text-book for the Young People's Societies, has very precise outlines and very bright — and dark — colors, but is also a very businesslike and attractive little guide. It is full of practical suggestions on

the art of arousing interest, and the lives of children which it gives are really well told. (Jennings and Pye, pp. 180. 50 cts.) D. B. M.

*The Life and Work of the Rev. E. J. Peck among the Eskimos,* by the Rev. Arthur Lewis, is an interesting account of missionary labor in a field so isolated and dissevered by climatic barriers from the rest of the world as to be comparatively unknown to the generality of readers. The story is well told; and yet one speedily is made to feel that it would have been much better had Mr. Peck written it himself. It is undeniable that the most reliable and instructive accounts of mission work and mission countries are those prepared by the men and women actually on the ground. Considering the conditions under which the book was written, we are obliged to adjudge it a creditable piece of work. (Armstrong, pp. xvi, 349. $1.75.) S. S.

*The Apostles' Creed* furnishes an excellent basis for a series of lectures. The various articles are always timely topics, and can be made most interesting and profitable to a popular audience. It is well worth while to listen to what Dr. Orr has to say concerning the First Article of the Creed, and what Dr. Dods may say concerning the Resurrection of Christ, and Dr. Denney concerning the Forgiveness of Sins. Dr. MacIntosh discusses the question of the Divinity of Christ, and Dr. Laidlaw answers the question, What do we mean by the Holy Spirit? Dr. Lindsey replies to the question, What is the Catholic Church? and Dr. P. Carnegie Simpson discusses the Life after Death. Each and all of these lectures on *Questions of Faith* are fresh and interesting, and the whole volume is worth careful reading. (Armstrong. $1.50.) E. K. M.

In 1892 Dr. William Hastie, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, delivered a series of six lectures on *The Theology of the Reformed Church in its Fundamental Principles.* The publication of these lectures at the present time is especially welcome because of the interest in the Reformed Theology which the quarto-centennial of the birth of Knox is sure to arouse. This book gives in short and readable form the theology which has been so influential from the time of Calvin to the present. The Reformed position is clearly stated and defended, and contrasts are drawn between it and the Lutheran. The author holds that the Reformed Theology is superior to the Lutheran because the Lutheran is based on the human act of faith, while the Reformed rests upon the divine purpose. In these days of theological change and unrest it is well to know what the fathers thought and taught, and this book gives their views. (Imported by Scribner, pp. 283. $2.00 net.) C. M. G.

*The Episcopalians,* by Daniel Dulany Addison, is the fourth volume to appear in the "Story of the Churches" series. When we take into consideration the formidable restrictions as to space imposed by the general plan of the series, it must be confessed that the writer of this volume has performed his task exceedingly well. Possibly there is a trifle more of the tone of the propagandist in the first chapter than comports well with modern canons of historical narration — a venial fault, we think. (The Baker & Taylor Co., pp. 252. $1.00 net.) S. S.

Prof. H. W. Kriebel's paper on the Schwenkfelders, prepared originally for publication in the Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society, has been reprinted and issued as a separate volume under the title *The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania.* We are thus provided with a most excellent epitomized history of this interesting people. The text has been carefully prepared, and the mechanical work tastefully executed. (Lancaster, Pa., pp. 246. $3.50.) S. S.

After a careful reading of the Rev. Frank G. Beardsley's *History of American Revivals* we fail to discover that he has made any real contribution to the sum of our previous knowledge respecting the special field here treated. The book amounts to little more than an uncritical recasting of old and very accessible material. It may serve some purpose as a convenient compend of what has already been published on the subject. (American Tract Society, pp. 324. $1.50.) S. S.

It is to be regretted that the general constituency of our Congregational churches know so little about the man to whom more than to any other, perhaps, they stand indebted for that which they regard most truly valuable and distinctive in their denominational life. We are inclined, therefore, to accord an especial welcome to Dr. Ozora S. Davis' monograph on the life of *John Robinson, the Pilgrim Pastor,* in the hope that many who hitherto have remained unacquainted with the character and achievements of this noble and saintly leader of the early English Separatists may feel tempted to pursue the story of his career as it is now adequately and interestingly told. In no other way is it possible to arrive at so satisfactory an understanding of the spirit and genius of that early religious movement of which American Congregationalism is the direct outgrowth, and of which he, during a good share of his lifetime, was the recognized and efficient head.

The field selected by our author had been explored so thoroughly already by various writers on Congregational history that practically his only recourse was to follow in the well-trodden pathways of these previous investigators. That such patient following up of the work of others, even when their work has been ably and thoroughly done, is not necessarily barren of reward is convincingly shown by the results in this case. All in all, it is a book in which the reader will find much to commend and little to criticise.

The slight digression which the writer makes on page 279 in defense of the Puritan seems to us one of his least happy passages. We quite agree that the Puritan has been much maligned; that the current conception of him as a person within whom a gloomy creed had wrought a universal dearth of those benigner qualities of heart which cheer and sweeten and give beauty and zest to our common living, leaving as the alone residuum of the soul a most repellant compound of harshness, sourness, and austerity, is a conception far removed from the actual facts. On the other hand, to assert that "It is a libel to brand Puritanism as gloomy and cold" is to repudiate the charge in such sweeping terms as to fall quite as wide of the truth on the opposite side. The writer's mistake here is attributable, we believe, to a failure to perceive that what was true of Puritanism at

one period of its history was not necessarily true of it at another. It is clear that the Puritan of the Elizabethan period — the period of the origin and growth of Puritanism, was possessed of a soul no less buoyant and cheerful than that of his Anglican neighbor. He differed from the Anglican chiefly in the exhibition of a greater moral earnestness and desire for reforms ecclesiastical and civil. And what was true of the Puritan in Old England was true of him in New England. In the early period, which was the period of American colonization and of such founders as Winthrop, Bradford, and Robinson, we see Puritanism at its best. In the descendants of these men and their contemporaries, a generation or two later, we see Puritanism at its worst — grown narrow, hard, petty, and ridiculous, not undeserving the castigation it received in satirical writings such as "Hudibras." Whoever reads the amusing diary of Samuel Sewall or Captain Edward Johnson's "History of New England" will obtain a fairly truthful idea of Puritanism in the period of its decline. The essays of Robinson, in our opinion, do not repudiate the notion, as our author avers, that Puritanism was gloomy and cold; and for the obvious reason, first, that they were written at a time when the charge which he combats was not applicable. In the second place, although Robinson shared the common doctrinal views of the Puritans, strictly speaking, he was not a Puritan at all. To cite the character and writings of John Robinson as proof of the liberality of the Puritans serves only to increase and perpetuate the too general confusion which already exists on this point. The considerable amount of space required for this criticism tends to magnify unduly its importance. (The Pilgrim Press, pp. xii, 366. $1.25.) S. S.

The Faculty of Andover Theological Seminary has issued in book form the papers and addresses given at the bicentenary celebration of the birth of *Jonathan Edwards,* held at Andover, October 4 and 5, 1903. All the parts have been printed in full, and there has been added considerable appendix matter besides, thus making it a wholly satisfactory report of the Andover anniversary exercises. (The Andover Press, pp. 126 + 65. $1.00 net.) S. S.

It would seem as though we had marked a stage in our study of Sunday-school problems with the publication of Prof. Pease's *Outline of a Bible School Curriculum.* For this is a real culmination, however insufficient it may seem to some to be. It is based upon modern child study, every essential subdivision of the volume being introduced by a resumé of findings in recent questionaire methods of child investigation. These findings in each case determine what the course of study shall be. The names of such investigators most frequently cited are Sully, Small, Street, Barnes, Shaw, Ellis, Hall, Dawson, Wissler, Lancaster, Burnham, Coe, Starbuck. Their methods and their theories are adopted without any sign of hesitancy, or question, or revision. It seems to have passed beyond challenge that the products and positions of these men form the final and complete standard in the field of pedagogy. What remains is simply to construct a corresponding outline of study, adapted to the adopted stages from the age of four to twenty-one. Within these ages children are provided in this volume with seventeen courses of study, fifty-two lessons in each course.

They are graded as Primary, four to nine years; Junior, nine to thirteen years; Intermediate, thirteen to seventeen years; Senior, seventeen to twenty-one years. These lessons are given in a tabulated outline by titles under topics, there being from six to a dozen lessons under a topic. Then in each grade are given "suggested lessons," a few to a grade by way of sample being elaborately worked out.

This constitutes, as said above, a real culmination of a prominent phase of Sunday-school investigation. Henceforth if anyone seeks to know what the newer Pedagogy is in theory, and what it proposes in practice, he can be bidden to look here and see.

A few comments call for utterance. Here is a broad undertaking. Its exactions upon any man are extremely severe. To assume to provide one sample kindergarten lesson, one sample Junior lesson, one sample Intermediate lesson, and one sample Senior lesson is to assume to do a good deal. To hint that such samples may be patterns for fifty other lessons, and that those fifties may be multiplied by four or five, and that four times over, is to hint at an overwhelming task. To attempt its accomplishment by one hand and within the range and outline of one book is to become involved in painfully extensive stretches of painfully superficial work. This fluent and ready and popular superficialism, being as it is most persistent, comes near to being the most baneful factor in current Sunday-school activity. Not so are we going to reach a solution.

After all, is this sharp classification of childhood interests the pedagogical key? Is this method-finding the main current in childhood life? It certainly seems not infrequently to forget that synthesis has any place in scientific study. Analysis, with its distinctions and contrasts, is deemed all-sufficient. But the child of four and the youth of seventeen are, after all, deeply and vitally and indivisibly one. And all child analysis should pass under the revision of this impregnable reality. After a while someone will introduce us to a vision of the teeming pedagogical value of that shining, irrefutable, fundamental fact.

And then are these much-bruited distinctions in childhood stages and in curricula of study all they seem? Are they not, after all, mainly a matter of forms? Let anyone study searchingly the lessons proffered in these successive stadia of Sunday-school education. When their actual substance is actually seen it is impressive to observe either their essential emptiness or their essential kinship.

But for all that, and at the same time, a classified arrangement of Sunday-school lessons is a mighty and a welcome task. And this is a truly noble and helpful effort. It bears speaking marks of ideal faithfulness and diligence. Prof. Pease deserves high honor and warm thanks. (University of Chicago Press, pp. xii, 418. $1.50.) C. S. B.

Another book appears from the pen of Prof. G. A. Coe of Northwestern University — *Education in Religion and Morals.* All who know his former books understand his method and his claims, when pursuing an inductive study. This high grade theoretic position he tacitly retains in writing the present volume. But his aim and struggle now are to bring the community up to his standard by arguing it from the obviously practical and urgent side. His eye is on our sad inefficiency in the use of our

educational opportunities, on the one hand, and the immense potency for good, if only fully utilized, in our state schools and Sunday-schools. The author is earnest and rational and considerate — a most gracious combination. People who feel that unbalanced fads characterize the so-called newer pedagogy may find here a balanced and ordered mind posing almost by instinct as a champion of the new way. For this reason the book may be commended as about the best possible introduction to these newer studies. It is a brave, manly, commendable endeavor. This all readers will agree. But all readers will also feel that its problems are, after all, but little more than stated and set open. There are appended sixteen pages of classified bibliography. (Revell, pp. 434. $1.35 net.) C. S. B.

In *Sunday-school Teacher-training* an excellent worker in the Sunday-school realm has published a volume which will have hard work to prove that it is worth while. One wearies of such desultory and superficial work. Most of it is merely marking time. But its author is Prof. Hamill, one of the wisest and best experienced men in all this field. This only shows too well where our Sunday-school teacher-training problem sticks. Brave, good men are at work. But braver, better men are called for. Not more than one or two greater tasks are before the Christian church. (The Sunday-school Times Co., pp. 106. 50 cts. net.) C. S. B.

A striking effort in the Sunday-school field is a small volume entitled *Sabbath-school Teacher-training Course,* prepared under the joint action of the Presbyterian churches North and South, the United Presbyterian church, the Presbyterian church in Canada, the Cumberland Presbyterian church, and the Reformed church in the United States. It is edited by the editorial superintendent of the Presbyterian Board of Publication in Philadelphia. Under him seven men coöperate to furnish the different sections. These men are Prof. A. R. Wells, Pres. G. B. Stewart, Rev. C. A. Oliver, Dr. R. J. Miller, Dr. H. L. Phillips, Rev. A. H. McKinney, and Prof. W. C. Murray. The main topics are the Bible, Bible History, Bible Lands, Bible Customs, the Sabbath-school, the Teacher, the Pupil.

This is to be followed by another volume which will handle the Books of the New Testament, Church History, Christian Doctrine, Winning Souls, the Christian Church, and the Church at Work in the Sabbath-school.

The two volumes are arranged to constitute a two-years course of study in Teacher-training.

This is surely a notable endeavor. One is predisposed to commend. If faults appear, one is inclined to conclude that in our present conditions those faults are unavoidable. Certainly it is a noble effort. The comity of effort of itself warrants and commends the work. And it is for just these reasons a most impressive spectacle. We must wish for it a wide attention.

But, noble as the struggle is, it is in notable sections sadly lame. Of course all must be covered. Hence all must be condensed. But it isn't condensation. It is starvation rations that teachers will face in some chapters. Look at this: Two pages and a trifle over given to the period from Saul to 587; the same space for the period from 587 to Christ; under three pages for the Life of Christ; two pages and a few lines to the Apos-

tolic church — and the material proffered astonishingly inadequate and unessential. Is this teacher-training? One gasps! However, one section is peculiarly fine, that by Dr. McKinney on the Teacher. If his sort of solid, sterling, primary, enduring instruction could have been provided for the other sections the book would have been ideal. (The Westminster Press, pp. 131, 25 cts., paper cover.) C. S. B.

It has always been the good fortune of Oberlin College that its presidency has been honored by the occupancy of men of marked intellectual ability, of profound religious convictions, and of unusually impressive personality. The last to enter this worthy succession has proved himself no exception to this rule. In his last book, *Personal and Ideal Elements in Education,* President King makes himself and his message felt with a singular personal power. This is not so strange, perhaps, in view of the nature of its contents. It is composed of addresses delivered, with a single exception, before audiences either composed of young men or especially interested in the education of the young. And they all show the quality of sympathetic passion for serviceableness united with a very clear analysis of the needs of those addressed. The inaugural address, on the Primacy of the Person in College Education, touches the keynote of the series. The author's method, too, in its unpedantic use of the "new psychology" shows how valuable it is going to become when it has once been made, in its main conceptions, a part of the working capital of parents as well as teachers. The addresses, besides the Inaugural, are one on Religious Education as Conditioned by Modern Psychology, delivered at the first convention of the R. E. A.; the paper read before the St. Louis Congress, on the Fundamental Nature of Religion; a series of addresses given to Y. M. C. A. workers at Lake Geneva, Wis., on Christian Training and the Revival; and a most excellent address, that every young man ought to read and ponder, on How to Make a Rational Fight for Character, delivered at Northfield. (Macmillan, pp. xiv, 277. $1.50 net.) A. L. G.

We welcome this book by Mr. Edwin A. Hardy, a Hartford graduate, as a fine contribution to an important subject. *The Churches and Educated Men* is a study of the conditions of religious life in colleges in the United States from earliest times to the present day. In our opinion the title of the book would have been more attractive and truer to his theme if it had been stated in such terms as to indicate more clearly that he was treating a college subject. Still his ulterior purpose as disclosed in the last chapters shows his reasons for adopting the title chosen. In a general way, from such books as Dorchester's "Problem of Religious Progress" we have been aware of the decadence of religion in colleges about the time of the Revolution, and from other sources, such as the History of Yale's Religious Life recently published, we have known something more in detail about our colleges; but there is no book available comparable with this in the full historical discussion of college religious life in this country, drawn from original sources, and presented in a charming literary style. Mr. Hardy has done a great service to the cause of religion, and has put every Christian college man under a debt of gratitude. The book will be of special use in furnishing quickening data for the Day of Prayer for

Colleges. The author finds eight periods in his study: The Period of the Beginnings, 1638-1770; The Revolution, or the Spiritual Ebb-tide, 1770-1795; The Reign of Infidelity, or the Period of Rapid Declension, 1795-1800; The Religious Renaissance, a Period of Recovery, 1800-1810; The Period of Transition, 1810-1820; The Great Ingathering, a Period of Revivals, 1820-1850; The Period of Adaptation, 1850-1875; The Modern Period of Reconstruction, 1875-1900.

The writer has not only used available local college histories, but has instituted questionaire methods by wide correspondence to get at his facts. The remarkable thing about the result is the steady gain all along the line in the religious conditions of college life. Statistically his conclusions are that in the first period, when the college were almost entirely devoted to the training of ministers, the proportion of Christian men was naturally the highest. But from 1775 to 1795 the proportion was only twelve per cent.; in 1800 it had fallen to five per cent. It rises to fifteen per cent. in 1808; from 1810-25 it sinks still lower, to rise again to twenty-five per cent.; from 1825-50 it rises to thirty-three per cent.; in ten years more it was forty per cent.; just before the war it reaches forty-five per cent., and remains there for about twenty years. From 1885 to 1900 it has risen to more than fifty per cent. Phases of religious life in each of these periods are given, and interesting details of correspondence and diary disclose the inner life of men and methods at successive epochs. Especially interesting is one of the closing chapters on the church's equipment for reaching men in our own day. We were somewhat surprised that the author should not have included in his discussion, as particularly pertinent to his theme, the present proportional decline of men in college toward the ministry. We were anticipating his views upon the subject, and felt it a lack that no allusion was made to a subject of such interest just now. We commend the reading of this book to ministers and students generally. It is a story of great evidential value, as bearing upon the hold of the Christian life upon educated men. Mr. Hardy deserves the thanks of a wide constituency for a reliable and timely book. (Pilgrim Press, pp. 305. $1.25.)

A. R. M.

In 1862 Peter Bayne wrote his *Testimony of Christ to Christianity*. In 1904 Dr. Campbell Morgan read the book and was greatly impressed with its value for our day. The result is that we have a new issue of the work. The book is an excellent one and gives from the point of view of forty years ago, with great impressiveness, the significance of the real Christ of history to Christianity. Dr. Morgan is quite right in calling attention to the fact that a vital, experimental Christianity cannot rest on a fabulous Christ. That which Bayne argued for has deep meaning for our day and Bayne's main contention is correct. The self-evidencing power of the historic Christ is coming to due recognition side by side with the self-evidencing power of the gospel narratives. While thus this work of the middle of the last century has value, perhaps only second to Bushnell's fine chapter on the Character of Jesus published in his "Nature and the Supernatural" four years before Bayne's work, the critical and philosophical viewpoint has so shifted since then that not a little of it will seem to the younger men of today as requiring almost a translation. (Revell, pp. 185. 75 cts. net.)

A. L. G.

The Harvard Ingersoll Lecture for 1904, delivered by Prof. William Osler of the Johns Hopkins Medical School, bears the title *Science and Immortality,* and is intended to be a "simple objective statement of some of the existing conditions of thought" (p. 44). The author divides men into three classes in respect to the belief in immortality. The first are the Laodiceans, who are lukewarm towards the whole topic and who comprise the great majority of people. This appears largely from the fact that "without a peradventure it may be said that a living faith in a future existence has not the slightest influence in the settlement of the grave social and national problems which confront the race today" (p. 14). The second are the Gallionians, who "care for none of these things." This is a smaller class most common among "naturalists and investigators." The third class is "the little flock of Teresians, who (like St. Theresa) feel that to them it is given to *know* the mysteries." These are the ones who really keep aflame the *faith* in immortality, largely through the impact of their personalities on others who do not share their faith. Prof. Osler expresses as his own *confessio fidei* the "opinion of Cicero, who had rather be mistaken with Plato than to be right with those who deny altogether the life after death" (p. 43). The lecture is in beautiful literary form and makes an interesting contribution to the discussion of the theme. Its interest is, however, more subjective than objective, and its value rather as revealing the mental attitude of a thoughtful physician than as a true objective presentation of current thought. (Houghton, Mifflin, pp. 54. 85 cts. net.) A. L. G.

Among the many cricicisms and appreciations of Mr. Herbert Spencer called out by his death and by the appearance of his autobiography we know of none which will give the reader so good an impression of the personality of the man and of his place in the history of thought as *Herbert Spencer,* an Estimate and Review, by Prof. Josiah Royce, to which is added a chapter of personal reminiscences by James Collier. Dr. Royce's philosophical position is completely antipodal to that of Mr. Spencer, and he consequently looks at Mr. Spencer's work from a distance remote enough to bring it into a consistent perspective. His sketch of the development of evolutional thought, and of the motives at work shaping it, all the way from the early Greeks to the time of Spencer himself, will be to many a revelation, while the force and weakness of the Spencerian philosophy is well displayed. The last sentence of the chapter on Mr. Spencer's Educational Theories well illustrates the quality of Prof. Royce's whole treatment — "Let us honor him for what he was, but let us be glad that he is not the trainer of our children." The little book is characterized throughout by the felicity of style, the charm of humor, the aptness of illustration which we are wont to associate with the work of the distinguished Harvard professor. (Fox, Duffield & Co., pp. 234. $1.25 net.)
A. L. G.

Dr. Alfred Caldecott and Dr. H. R. Mackintosh have done a real service in editing with introductory and explanatory notes *Selections from the Literature of Theism.* The notes do not swamp nor clutter the text and are well suited to clarify and amplify positions taken by the authors reproduced. The literature referred to at the end of each section is well

selected from works accessible to the student reading English only, and the index is admirably arranged. The book is a sort of intermediate work between a simple history of opinion and a real study of authors at first hand. It ought to be a supplement to reading in the former field and an introduction to reading in the latter.

The range, plan, and purpose of the work can be best seen from the Contents, which is as follows: I. The Ontological Argument: Anselm. II. Some Points in Scholastic Theology: Thomas Aquinas. III. The Existence of God: Descartes. IV. God as Infinite Substance: Spinoza. V. Mysticism: The Cambridge Platonists. VI. God as Eternal Mind: Berkeley. VII. Religion in the Critical Philosophy: Kant. VIII. Romanticism: Schleiermacher. IX. God seen in the Beautiful; Cousin. X. Religion as Sociology: Comte. XI. Agnosticism: Mansel. XII. The Personality of God: Lotze. XIII. Ethical Theism: Martineau. XIV. The Teleological Argument: Janet. XV. Religion as Judgments of Worth: Ritschl. It would be difficult to deny that the phases of thought thus represented are typical. It is not to be wondered that the editors felt constrained to observe in the Introduction, "When we look at our list we confess to some searching of heart at the absence from it of anything to represent Leibnitz or Hegel." But a sort of introductory handbook as this is intended to be cannot be expected to include everything. Many readers will profit by this guide to a relatively first-hand knowledge of authors whose work has been known to them in a remotely second-hand way. Many teachers will be glad to have in such compact form material to which students can be referred and on the basis of which they can be led into wider individual study. (Imported by Scribner, pp. xiv, 472. $2.50 net.) A. L. G.

The characteristic of our day is the effort to interpret Christianity from within out, rather than from without in. It is not many years since the method of handling Christian Evidences was that still held in a few quarters, viz., to prove by purely external evidence the infallibility of an inspired book, and then to argue to its necessary truthfulness as proceeding from God. Such books as that of Prof. Burton, reviewed on another page, indicate the current trend to put stress on the internal rather than the external evidence in respect to the books of the New Testament. Rev. Edward M. Chapman's book on *The Dynamic of Christianity* is one of many indications that the trustworthiness of Christianity as a personal faith is being reinterpreted in the terms of the meaning and value of individual experience. Mr. Chapman's book is a thoughtful effort to find a central principle, true to the teachings of Christ and to the experience of the believer, which shall coördinate the realities of the Christian life. It deserves a careful — and we must add a critical — reading. The reader is recommended to begin the book with the Appendix, which contains a summary of the argument in the text. This, together with the excellent index, greatly adds to its serviceableness. (Houghton, Mifflin, pp. ix, 345. $1.25 net.) A. L. G.

From the hand of Dr. Henry E. Robins, formerly of Colby and Rochester, we have a bulky volume upon *The Ethics of the Christian Iife.* The treatment is very profuse and leisurely, no heed being paid, to all appear-

ances, to the patience of the reader. The point of view is superbly evangelical, and the positions taken are argued with fine appreciation of the full meaning of the matter in hand. One could only rejoice if all our youth could be led to see life's problems with this author's eye. But we venture little in predicting that few of our youth will ever read it. If they ever see it, they will look and run. The train of thought is all unfamiliar, unattractive, uncompelling. It would be no slight task to exhume one engaging, inspiring paragraph. It it all strangely, almost incredibly, feeble and dull. And yet its teaching is most wholesome. Over and over these assertions could be illustrated and proved. But this no reader will desire. (Griffith and Rowland Press, pp. xviii, 488. $2.00 net.)

C. S. B.

Modern evangelism is adapting itself to the prevailing conditions, developing new methods and forms of presenting the Gospel. *What Every Christian Needs to Know* is a handbook for beginners in evangelistic work. The suggestions are grounded in experience and treat of the various forms and phases of evangelism. Several of the chapters have previously appeared as articles in various religious papers, but those who know Mr. Pope will be glad to have them in book form. It is gratifying to find a modern evangelist abreast with the day in pedagogical method and in an intelligent attitude toward the best Biblical scholarship. (Revell, pp. 224. 75 cts. net.)

E. K. M.

"The Presbyterian Pulpit" is putting forth some notable volumes of sermons. We have had occasion to review others previously issued. By restricting the number of sermons issued in each volume we have the choicest products probably of each preacher selected. This book of Rev. J. Sparhawk Jones, D.D., entitled *Seeing Darkly* will introduce into New England a preacher not so familiarly known as some of his predecessors in this series — but it is just to say that he takes his place by eminent right in the list. Full of thought, of great originality, and of fine quality of style, these sermons have also an unusual range of fresh illustrative material from sources quite refreshing to sermon readers. They lack perspicuity in the arrangement of thought sometimes and eschew formal divisions, but preserve unity of theme and directness of aim in a masterly manner. (Presby. Board of Pub., pp. 188. 75 cts.)

A. R. M.

We look to the publishers of this volume for the best books presented in this country from the leaders of religious thought in the English church. The high repute of Bishop Mendell Creighton as a preacher makes this volume of his sermons very welcome. The three addresses which give title to the book *The Mind of Peter* were given at the annual devotional meetings of bishops at Lambeth. They constitute a most valuable contribution to the best type of topical exposition of Peter's First Epistle. Hope, Sobriety, and Patience are the keywords, as he conceives the Epistle. The other sermons were preached for the most part after he became Bishop of London, on occasions of public importance. Especially noteworthy is his great sermon in St. Paul's on Queen Victoria's Jubilee, and another in the same place on "The Lessons of Adversity" during the war in South Africa. Especially discriminating, fair, and bold for an English

bishop is his brief but significant sermon at the unveiling of a memorial window to Archbishop Laud. The chief characteristic of Bishop Creighton's sermons is a remarkable blending of fine and almost obtrusive scholarship with practical insight. He has the rare power of using subtle analysis without losing spiritual flavor. This volume and the recent volume by his successor in the Bishopric of London show how two great men in the same position of eminence have used their power on great public occasions. (Longmans, pp. 192. $1.20 net.) A. R. M.

The words of a veteran minister like Dr. S. S. Mitchell, who has served important churches in Washington, Brooklyn, and Buffalo, are well worth careful consideration. *The Staff Method* consists of eight sermons treating such themes as the skepticism of prominent people, spiritual novelties, the sifting of the sensuous life, etc. Each of these sermons is full of the richest and most compact spiritual truth, and they are all up to date. Few volumes of sermons are better worth careful reading. (Presb. Board of Pub., pp. 178. 75 cts.) E. K. M.

This last volume from Dr. Lorimer is presented as a book of sermons in the International Pulpit, but it is in reality a volume of essays. A text precedes each chapter. The preface tells us that the author has taken from his sermons a number which can be grouped under the caption *The Modern Crisis in Religion,* that he has frequently taken several sermons and combined them into one, and has enlarged and amplified the whole. The result is neither a volume of sermons, significant as sermons, nor a volume of essays with the freedom of such a form of discussion. The texts are somewhat perfunctory prefixes, and yet the essays and addresses are more or less cramped by a homiletic habit. It is an unfortunate and hazardous method of editing a volume. Despite this method the volume is full of rich things, showing the wide reading which always characterizes Dr. Lorimer's work and his keen insight into current problems. There is little attempt at co-ordinating his views upon many subjects with any unified discussion of the theme of the book. The topics he discusses are just familiar ones: On Modernizing Christianity, The Redemption of the City, Christ and the Country Church, The Church and the Workshop, etc. The freshest themes and treatment are found in the essay on The Arrest of Ethical Progress and The Position and Peril of Protestantism. The book makes no marked contribution to the subject of the volume, but will be especially welcome as Dr. Lorimer's expression of views upon special topics of social and religious interest. (Revell & Co., pp. 278. $1.00.)
A. R. M.

A place among the better class of devotional books is deserved by Rev. G. H. Knight's *The Master's Questions to His Disciples.* It is a series of fifty-two very simple and direct homilies upon the questions Jesus asked of his closest followers. Naturally, in places the comment is commonplace and weak. But characteristically the work is fine. It is free, elevated, intimate, very practical, and suggestive. Let many pastors read and imitate in some way. (Armstrong, pp. xv, 367. $1.50.) C. S. B.

A small book on *The Bible and the Church* by Rev. Willard G. Davenport is the substance of a paper read before the Bishop Cleggett Club of

Washington. The book is designed for "those devout believers in the Bible who are perplexed and distressed over the strictures of certain schools of Modern Criticism." The book is of no marked significance either in its freshness of presenting the more conventional arguments for authenticity or in its scholarly method of appreciating and meeting some of the more recent questions. The canon, the authority of the church, and the testimony of the Prayer Book will carry more weight in the communion of the particular church to which the writer belongs than with the average layman or minister who reads the book. A devout and earnest tone and a graceful literary style characterize the essay. (The Young Churchman Co., pp. 78. 50 cts.) A. R. M.

We have had "Letters of a Business Man to his Son," and it had quite a success. It was but natural that someone should employ the same popular medium to express the feelings of an elder to a younger generation upon ministerial thought and work, and now we have *Letters of an Old Methodist to his Son in the Ministry* by Robert Allen. The writer is supposedly a farmer of some means in Tippecanoe, Indiana. His son is first in the Seminary; then wants to travel abroad for further study; then takes his first trip to Conference; his first parish; his pastoral calls; his first removal; his marriage; his preaching; his city charge; his experiences with church officers; his suburban settlement, etc., etc. At each stage the father has the chance to say some homely things about modern church work as they appear to an older man. Most of it is amusing, some of it is witty, all of it serious in intent. It is of a local color, as especially meant for Methodist reading. The style is designedly crude and somewhat abounding in slang, as befitting the supposed writer. As a literary work it is not trenchant enough to warrant the method of contrast adopted; too serious for this vehicle, and not serious enough as a discussion of modern church life — yet it abounds in good things, and may hold the attention of some readers who would not read the author's ideas if put into essay form. (Revell, pp. 243. $1.25.) A. R. M.

President Harper always says something well worth listening to when he speaks, and he is never dull in discussing religious themes. *Religion and the Higher Life* consists of some twelve discourses on various themes, delivered before the students of Chicago University and certain other institutions of learning. While Dr. Harper rarely rises to the highest plane, he never descends to mediocrity. That the president of a great modern university should be so deeply interested in spiritual things is most gratifying. We commend these addresses to our readers as in every way wholesome and stimulating. (University of Chicago Press, pp. 184. $1.00 net.) E. K. M.

Another strong, uplifting book designed for use in the devotional life comes from Dr. G. Campbell Morgan, *The Life of the Christian.* One characteristic of the work is its mental strenuousness. It derives all the meaning of a Christian's life from Christ. This seems a simple enough proposition, but the mental tenacity with which that thesis is handled comes near to being unique. One almost fears at times that it has been driven so hard as to transcend reality and become almost Pharisaic theory. But in the main the treatment is manly and worthy. To read it is like tying on a girdle. (Revell, pp. 104. 50 cts.) C. S. B.

The number of good books on prayer as an essential part of the Christian life is not large. Whether Mr. S. D. Gordon's *Quiet Talks on Prayer* is to be counted among these is a question to be differently answered by different readers. All will at once heartily acknowledge the intense earnestness that pervades it. Prayer is not only a very real agency to the author, but a well-nigh omnipotent one, and his sense of its dignity and efficacy arrests attention. His book is written out of a warm heart and the momentum of its eagerness is often contagious. The four divisions under which the successive chapters are arranged are The Meaning and Mission of Prayer, Hindrances to Prayer, How to Pray, and Jesus' Habits of Prayer. A great many of the remarks and passages under these are excellent, especially those in the last three divisions.

But one must query about the author's conception of the main function of prayer and his use of figurative language to make his meaning clear. The main function of prayer, as he views it, is intercession, though he admits that other functions have their place in leading up to this. What provokes challenge, however, is the astonishing chain of assertions by which a peculiar and very definite view of intercession is projected into the discussion. Briefly put, these are that though the earth was originally God's he gave its dominion over to man as trustee, that by the first man's disobedience this control was by man handed over to Satan, that it could not be recovered except through the complete victory of the man Jesus over Satan, which was consummated at his resurrection, that this victory is not yet admitted by Satan, whom the wills of most men still support in his contention, and that the issue of the conflict is still being fought out. "Now, prayer is this: A man, one of the original trustee class, who received the earth in trust from God and gave its control over to Satan, insistently claiming that Satan shall yield before Jesus' victory, step by step, life after life" (p. 47). We cannot take space to reproduce the detail of the argument with its bald dualism, its almost coarse imagery, and its deification of the human will. Its philosophy is essentially mediæval or Oriental, but its terminology is extremely modern, so much so that the net impression is one of positive vulgarity. We marvel that so earnest an advocate should show such poor taste and indelicacy in dealing with these transcendent themes. It seems that his mind demands that spiritual truth shall be expressed in mechanical terms before it becomes real. To other minds, however, his attempt belittles, distorts, and disfigures it. (Revell, pp. 243. 75 cts. net.) W. S. P.

It is a useful and happy thought to reprint for use in this country the little collection of private prayers called *Kyrie Eleison* made by Rev. H. J. Wotherspoon of Edinburgh. The matter is grouped under four heads — for the days of the week (morning, midday, and night), in connection with the Lord's Supper, aids to intercession, and various special prayers for occasions. Not only are the prayers themselves admirable in scope, spirit, and expression, but accompanying them are singularly judicious suggestions as to the range and method of thought in engaging in the act of prayer. Especially commendable are the directions given whereby the Communion may be made significant through preparation of the mind and heart. (Westminster Press, pp. 168. 35 cts.) W. S. P.

Mr. Hermann Smith's *The World's Earliest Music* is one of the ever-increasing number of popular handbooks whereby enthusiasts in music history are seeking to make general readers aware of some of the fascinating facts of the subject. It is a loquacious, gossipy, book, written after the style of a familiar "talk." But the evident interest of the writer in his subjects and his acquaintance by study and reflection with a great mass of facts give it considerable solid value in addition to its picturesqueness. For the student the arrangement of the material leaves much to be desired, however, and the author's keenness for whatever lends itself best to literary exploitation constantly tends to upset his critical balance. The book is therefore irritating as a treatise or book of reference. But it will doubtless serve its purpose well and if it opens a few blind eyes we may give thanks. The illustrations are generally exceedingly well chosen, but their technical execution varies greatly. Evidently the desire to keep down expense influenced this part of the plan. (Imported by Scribner, pp. 362. $1.75 net.) W. S. P.

This last book of Dr. E. T. Devine, Secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New York, is likely to be the classical work on the subject of *Principles of Relief*. Nearly every phase of the problem is elaborately discussed. The theoretical aspects of a Relief Policy, the elimination of disease, the housing problem, the out-of-door relief, the breaking up of families, dependent adults and children, industrial displacement, immigration, intemperance, etc., etc., are discussed in Part I. Part II presents a digest of 75 illustrative cases of the highest value to the expert student. Part III has three valuable essays on the Reform of the English Poor Law, Outdoor and Indoor Relief in America. Part IV makes special discussion of Relief in Disasters — by far the fullest special discussion of this subject available, and constituting a specially new and fresh contribution. This book should be read in connection with Warner's "American Charities" — each covering phases of the subject in ways that admirably supplement each other. Dr. Devine's book is not so elaborately supplied with statistical charts and summaries as that of Dr. Warner, and spends more time in the discussion of principles. The author's previous handbook, "The Practice of Charity," should be read in connection with this more elaborate work. Together they furnish in compendious form the fullest and most reliable data available to one interested in these vital problems. (Macmillan Co., pp. 495. $2.00.) A. R. M.

A valuable book on an unusual subject. Miss Francis A. Kellor, who has done excellent research work before, takes up for her field Employment Agencies and Intelligence Offices; their treatment of the unemployed, and their influence upon homes and business, and publishes her results under the title *Out of Work*. She had under her nine investigators, and was backed by a fellowship from the College Settlements Association and the Women's Municipal League of New York. The field of inquiry is chiefly confined to New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, with most minute inquiry in the largest city. She and her colaborers in order to get at the facts in the case on both sides personated, when necessary, both the out-of-work laborer and the employer of labor. The first part of the book deals

with Intelligence Offices, the second part with Employment Agencies. The book also contains a most valuable digest of state and municipal laws bearing upon the topics discussed. The research has its chief value as a contribution to the domestic service problem. The most noteworthy feature of the book is its revelation of collusion between a very large number of the intelligence offices and places of vice. We have read nothing more startling since Mr. Stead's revelations about London prostitution. The systematic methods of recruiting the forces of social evil through entrapping the immigrant and decoying the country girl; the business conditions and methods; the description of places, people, and experiences which gave the knowledge; all together form a sad story, but one that needed to be told for the protection of such victims by more stringent legislation, and for the enlightenment of those who employ such agencies. The writer uses just perspective, however, and shows the better side of such business and the vast amount of good that is done by perfectly reputable agencies. The book will be of value to those who wish to know more about free employment agencies and those more or less under state control. As a literary work the book shows some signs of haste in writing and is often obscure in making the point designed. This is due in part to the avoidance of technical tables to make the facts more popularly attractive to the less scientific readers. (Putnam, pp. 292. $1.25.) A. R. M.

## Seminary Annals.

### WILLIAM CUSHMAN HAWKS.

January, 21, at about eight o'clock in the morning, died William Cushman Hawks, for many years Assistant Librarian of the Case Memorial Library. For some years Mr. Hawks had suffered from heart disease, which for the last year or two had not a little restricted his physical activity. About two weeks before his death the disease passed to a more acute stage and he was confined to his room, ministered to by the friendly services of the students in the Seminary building, where for many years had been his home. On Friday it seemed best that he should be placed where he could have skilled attention in case of sudden emergency, and he was moved to a private hospital. The emergency came with unexpected suddenness the day following, and he passed to his eternal home.

The funeral services were in the Seminary chapel Monday afternoon and were singularly appropriate, dignified, and simple. The casket was borne by those whom he had always esteemed his fellow students, the body passed for the last time into the opening doors of Hosmer Hall where it was received by the faculty and students formed in double lines, which, after the passing of the casket, closed and followed into the chapel.

The services were conducted by Professor Jacobus, Dean of the Faculty, and Mr. Potter, pastor of the First Church, of which Mr. Hawks was a member, both of whom spoke words of affectionate appreciation of Mr. Hawks' character. The service was so planned that it might be a genuine expression of the united feeling of the whole seminary. Scripture was read responsively and three hymns, "One Sweetly Solemn Thought," "Sleep Thy Last Sleep," and "For All Thy Saints, O Lord," were sung by all present.

The interment took place at Williamsburg, Mass.

The following tribute, contributed by Professor Pratt to the morning *Courant,* well expresses the feelings of all who knew Mr. Hawks:

On Saturday morning there slipped away from its earthly place a faithful, earnest soul that rightly deserves some word of special recognition ere it becomes to us but a memory. For

more than fifteen years William Cushman Hawks has been the invaluable assistant in the care of the Case Memorial Library, and his going leaves a vacancy that cannot well be filled. All who have known him and have watched his years of patient industry there will crave the chance to testify not only to the fidelity of his long service but to the rare excellence of his quiet and unostentatious personality.

Mr. Hawks was graduated from Amherst College in 1885, when he was 23 years old. Four years later he came to Hartford that he might take some special studies in the Hartford Theological Seminary and assist in the care of its growing library. His unusually accurate and careful mind was at once apparent, and his gifts in the acquisition of languages. Hampered by a serious bodily deformity that had resulted from an accident in childhood, he was debarred from much physical activity and from all public effort. But work in a library gave full scope for his mental acumen and for that methodical patience that became a second nature. He soon made himself an expert in the chief branches of routine library economy, focusing upon it all the faculties and furnishings of his mind. In recent years nearly all of the responsible labor of classifying and cataloguing thousands of books fell to him — work calling for the highest degree of precision and thoroughness. That he was able to accomplish so much so well was due to his discipline in mental concentration and his indomitable persistence. Several successive librarians will bear witness that the successful on-go of this great library for these many years has been largely dependent on the knowledge, experience, and perseverance of this unobtrusive but efficient assistant.

Through all these years Mr. Hawks has lived in the seminary buildings. He has thus been the daily companion of several generations of students, besides witnessing changes in every faculty position save one. In all personal relations he won universal respect and esteem. His character was essentially upright, devout, and unselfish, and his simplicity and sincerity made him beloved by many scores of his institutional companions. In a peculiarly intimate sense his life was in these ways incorporated with that of the whole seminary circle.

Such lives are rich in suggestion and silently eloquent, for they set before us the power of an eager but chastened soul, always struggling manfully against great physical infirmities and limitations, to grow steadily in qualities that are noble and enduring, to exert itself effectively and fruitfully for the good of others, to keep itself cheery, brave, and wholesome, and to make

paths that seem humble and full of drudgery dignified and even glorious. Here was surely the triumph of that part of human nature that is most precious and great, and it was a triumph won through the energy that comes from Christian faith.

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On the afternoon of December 21st the Seminary Chapel was filled by an appreciative assembly to hear Prof. A. E. Steiner of Iowa College. Prof. Steiner delivered an address on Tolstoi which was aglow with the enthusiasm of a disciple and the realism dependent on immediate acquaintance. With a dramatic artist's skill the luxurious pomp of the Russian clergy and nobility was set in sharp relief against the squalid wretchedness of the mujiks. In the foreground moved the aristocratic figure of Lyoff Tolstoi, who in the capacities of student at the University of Kazan, member of an artillery regiment in the Crimean campaign, and social leader at St. Petersburg, was haunted by ever-recurring questions of the divine purpose for his life. His engagement in educational enterprises on a secular basis on behalf of the peasantry and their failure, his contact with a Christian who attributed his own happiness to living conformably with Christ's laws, and Tolstoi's resolution to live likewise were passed in review with telling results. In concluding this impressive address, Prof. Steiner told of his visit to the home of Tolstoi, of his unassuming majesty, and the centrality of Christ in his life, and eulogized the man who in an age of self-advertisement will not submit to praise.

On Tuesday evening, January 10th, Prof. R. B. Richardson delivered the first of the Carew Lectures, taking as his subject the Excavation of Corinth. Dr. Richardson has served for several years as the Director of American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The chief line of archæological work at Corinth has been to discover the topography of the ancient city. No remarkable works of art or inscriptions have been found, but the sites of the following places have been determined: the theater, the fountains of Pirene and Glauce, the road to Lechaeum, the Propylaea, the Agora, and the Temple of Apollo. The lecture was well attended and a manifest interest was shown throughout.

General Exercises. November 2d: Sermon, Mr. Goodsell; Address, Mr. Jordan. November 16th: Sermon, Mr. Clements; Essay, Mr. Ohol. November 30th: Sermon, Mr. Forté; Hymn Reading, Mr. Lambert; Scripture, Mr. Moment. December 14th: Sermon, Mr. Sweet; Address, Mr. Middlemas. January 11th: Sermon, Mr. Sheldon; Hymn Analysis, Mr. Thompson. January 18th: Sermon, Mr. Young; Hymn Reading, Mr. Gardner; Scripture, Mr. Woodruff.

THE

# HARTFORD SEMINARY RECORD

VOL. XV. NO. 3 — MAY, 1905

[Entered at the Hartford Post Office as Second Class Matter.]

Published quarterly on the 1st of November, February, May, and August. Subscription price, $1.00 per year, in advance. Single copies, 30 cents. Remit to order of HARTFORD SEMINARY PRESS, Hosmer Hall, Hartford, Conn.

EDITORIAL BOARD: — Professor Arthur Lincoln Gillett, Professor Waldo Selden Pratt, Professor Charles Snow Thayer. *Associate Editor:* — Stephen van Rensselaer Trowbridge. *Business Manager:* — Willis Lord Gelston.

The *Bibel und Babel* controversy, which for some time past has been resounding through the theological press of Germany and the echoes of which have been heard on our shores, has somewhat subsided. Quiet has so far been restored that it is now possible to survey the battlefield and see something of what has been done. A writer in a recent number of the *Theologiches Litteraturblatt* has recently analyzed and reviewed the arguments on one side in a way that is worth calling attention to.

A word by way of reminder as to just what it is all about. A little more than three years ago the German Emperor summoned the noted Assyriologist Friederich Delitzsch to lecture in his presence on the results of recent archæological investigation. The lecturer not only told about the many remarkable discoveries made in Assyria and Babylonia, but also drew a parallel between Babylonian civilization and religion as newly laid bare and the records of religion and civilization given in the Old Testament. This comparison was largely to the prejudice of the Old Testament content, and was intended in particular to show that both Monotheism and the early worship of Jaweh originated not with the Hebrews, but in Babylonia.

The occasion, the title, and the content of this lecture attracted to it the widest attention. By many its statements, especially in the second edition, were considered as giving the death blow to the hitherto unchallenged superiority of the Old Testament. Replies to Delitzsch thundered and crackled. His armament was by no means silent, and so the battle went on. One among other results was that Delitzsch's little book has sold up to 60,000 copies, and the reply of at least one of his critics has reached the 10,000 mark. What is the outcome? It is to the views of the critics of Delitzsch that our writer devotes himself.

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As was to be expected, Delitzsch was most bitterly opposed by those who hold a strict verbal inspiration theory of the Old Testament. Most of them, however, were so ignorant of the facts in the dispute that their pamphlets or books might better never have seen the light. The only significance to be attached to these is that they reveal the existence of a class of pastors and others who do not represent Christian theology at its best, but whose views, strangely enough, seem considered by Delitzsch as representative of present day Protestant Christianity.

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More important are the numerous replies from professional theologians and Assyriologists. These represent not only views of Protestants, but of Roman Catholics and Jews.

The theologians — Jewish as well as Christian — find Delitzsch's view of revelation crude and erroneous. He has failed to appreciate duly the unique element in the Old Testament and to see the necessity of revelation to true religion.

The Assyriologists have found his position open to attack at several points. Lehmann has no confidence in Delitzsch's novel ideas, and thinks he should not have classed these with the well-attested results of Assyriological research. The Jesuit Kugler criticised him from the point of view of expert knowledge of Babylonian astronomy. Hommel and Winckler have, each in his own way, taken issue with Delitzsch's supposed Babylonian monotheism and his view of the connection between Babylonian culture and early Israel. Alfred Jeremias also views the relation between Babylon and Israel in very different light from Delitzsch.

Theologians who are Old Testament specialists, but also something more, such as Budde, Kittel, Oettli, Grimme (Catholic), Koberle, König, and others, have each said something valuable on the question, but none of them finds himself in agreement with Delitzsch. König's answer to Delitzsch, which has run through ten editions, the reviewer cannot pronounce a success. In dealing with Assyrian philology, König the hebraist was out of his element and might better have kept silent. In other respects König's words are well worth noting. The weighty criticisms of such specialists as Jensen and Bezold were not noted by the reviewer.

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The result of the whole discussion so far seems to be this: Delitzsch's claim that the word Jahweh (or its equivalent) was used in ancient Babylonia as a divine name may be true, but the historical significance of this is not yet clear. In the second place, in the opinion of nearly all his critics, Delitzsch altogether underestimates the Old Testament, and especially the higher religious elements of the Old Testament. Between these and the best that Babylon had to offer the distance is very great. The Old Testament did not get its religion from Babylonia. In the third place, the nature of the connection between the early Hebrews and the Babylonian civilization is still obscure. It will take more than the words of a popular address before an emperor to clear up this obscurity.

The contest has not been without its surprises. To see those who were called cold, rationalistic critics, supposed to have only a scientific interest in the Old Testament, rallying to the defense of a real revelation of God to man, has been not only something to arouse surprise, but something to awaken gratitude.

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Some time last year Miss Helen Gould came under the criticism of Father Early, of Irvington-on-the-Hudson, for her management of a sewing school she had established for the girls of her community. She gave them sandwiches on Friday, and Father Early withdrew from the school the girls for whose faith he was responsible.

The difficulty might have ended there had not Father Early, in a communication to Miss Gould, seen fit to enlarge upon some other differences between Catholics and Protestants, chiefly those which gather around the character and use of the Scripture versions adopted by their respective communions.

The words in which he expressed these differences of the versions were likely to attract attention. "The Catholic Church," he wrote, "has never prohibited any of her members reading the Scriptures or Bible. In every family whose means will permit the buying of a copy, there you will find the authentic version of God's words as authorized by the Church, and which has come down to us, unchanged, from the time of Christ Himself. But the Catholic Church does object to the reading of the Protestant version, which goes back only to the days of Henry VIII of England, and was then gotten up for obvious reasons."

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Miss Gould conferred with President White of the Bible Teachers Training School, New York city, and, through him, offered some $1,750, to be distributed in prizes for essays on the origin and history of the Bible approved by the Roman Catholic Church and of the American Revised Version of the English Bible. It was her desire to stir up interest in the questions touched upon in Father Early's letter, and to secure a brief and popular statement of the facts in the case.

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Her purpose evidently was accomplished. By October 1, 1904, when the contest ended, over two hundred and fifty essays had been handed in, coming from all quarters of the world, several being written by Catholics. From among these the three selected for honors were, in order of award, the one by Rev. Thomas Whitley, M.A., LL.M. (Cambridge), LL.D. (Melbourne), a Baptist clergyman of Preston, England; the one by Rev. Gerald H. Beard, B.A., B.D., Ph.D. (Yale), a Congregational clergyman of New Haven, Conn.; and the one by Charles B. Dallon, Esq., Assistant Master, Trinity Parish School, New York.

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These have just been published in book form and are well worth the reading, especially as they will give to many, Protestants and Catholics alike, some new ideas as to the value of the

versions to which they respectively subscribe. Catholics will be made aware of the fact that the Douay Bible, which they now read freely in their homes, is not the same as that which was first issued in 1582 (N. T.) and 1609-10 (O. T.). It is the latest of several editions of that original, and bears but little more resemblance to its peculiar wording than does the King James version of the Protestant Bible (1611) — in fact, that the Douay editions have been progressively corrected after the model of the Authorized Version until the differences between this latest edition and the Authorized Version are reduced to a minimum.

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On the other hand, Protestants will learn that the Authorized Version itself and the latest versions — the English and the American revisions — have secured some of their best renderings from those which were characteristic of the Douay Bible, and in some passages might have given better renderings had they followed those adapted by the translators at the Catholic College at Douay.

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Some may feel that in these facts much is lost from the traditional Scripture controversy between these two great branches of the Christian Church. There are many, however, who will feel that, whatever has been lost from the controversy, the substantial identity of these two Bibles means much to the Christian faith.

# HUMAN IMMORTALITY AND ITS RELATION TO RELIGION.

Dr. F. C. S. Schiller, formerly of Cornell University, but now of Oxford, in the *Fortnightly Review* for September, 1901, discusses at length the question, "Do Men desire Immortality?" and he does not hesitate to affirm that "to find it a dominating, or even an important, influence in human psychology, one would have to seek it, not in the churches or the universities, and still less amid the bustle of active life, but in the asylums in which are secluded the unhappy victims of religious mania or melancholy, in whom an insane logic has overpowered the healthy indifference to death and its consequences, characteristic of the makeup of the normal mind."

"Where," said Dr. William Osler of Johns Hopkins, in his lecture at Harvard last year on "Science and Immortality," "where among the educated and refined, much less among the masses, do we find any ardent desire for a future life? . . . Immortality, and all that it may mean, is a dead issue in the great movements of the world."

Professor Leuba of Bryn Mawr College, in the *International Journal of Ethics* for October, 1903, concludes a searching criticism of Professor Hyslop's recent "Report on Seventeen Sittings with Mrs. Piper" with these words: "Professor Hyslop's careful investigation may have at least one good result — the moderation of the disturbing wish of a certain class of people for a future life. They may learn to face the actual present more resolutely and wisely. . . . And as to the Christian religion, forswearing its stupendous mistake regarding the future life, it would, let us hope, have grace enough to turn around and, instead of leading men to immortality, endeavor to deliver them from it, even as Buddhism does."

These and similar utterances from many quarters clearly indicate that the doctrine of a future life for man is held in serious

question, and they fully justify the attempt to give the matter a fresh examination. We therefore definitely raise the inquiry, Is the doctrine, in the light of modern knowledge, any longer to be regarded as a probable truth?

But before betaking ourselves directly to our task, we would remark that if the doctrine of human immortality should turn out to be fallacious, religion would not be annihilated thereby. We do not agree with a recent writer on the subject that "we can as little conceive of religion without immortality as without God." For religion is not founded primarily upon the fact of death or any other similar phenomenon. It is the natural creation of the mind of man as a knowing, feeling, and willing being. If human life should be indefinitely prolonged, such a change in the ordinary ongoings of nature would not destroy it.

Students of anthropology are now generally agreed that belief in existence after death is co-extensive with the human race. It springs up spontaneously in every man, and he sets out on his career as a man with the assumption of its truthfulness. Dr. Brinton, in his work on "Religions of Primitive Peoples," clearly expresses this fact concerning primeval man when he says, "To him all things live and live forever." His gods being the source of life, he could no more die than they could. Doubt regarding a future life never arises in the infancy of any race or individual. It comes only when the facts of human experience seem to call it in question. Many religions, it is true, have a vague notion of immortality, and some deny it altogether, but they are not primitive. The word "religion" comes from the Romans, and was originally applied to the observance of a set of rites and ceremonies. Considerations bearing upon a future life, or even a regard for morals, had little to do with it. "Belief in immortality," says Professor Granger in his work on "The Religion of the Romans," "was not a part of the Roman religion any more than was a moral temper of mind." Cæsar's Epicureanism was no bar to his serving as chief pontiff, nor was his wild and dissolute youth. Many people in all ages of the world have come to disbelief in individual immortality, and many reject it today. But no one can deprive himself of religion by holding to such an

opinion, although the character of his religion will be immensely affected thereby.

At the very outset of our investigation we wish to emphasize the fact that all we are in search of is a probable truth; for from the very nature of the case no position that can be taken upon this subject can give us certainty. All of the accepted doctrines concerning the origin and destiny of the world in which we live are outside the realm of certain proof. It is no objection, therefore, to the doctrine of human immortality that it does not admit of demonstration. It is a future event, and for that reason cannot be more than probable. Supposing it could be shown that some men have survived death (and we have no right to hold that all efforts to do so must be futile), that would not prove that many men will, much less that all men will.

The problem that we now have before us is, therefore, simply this: What are the probabilities that man is so made that he survives death and is the possessor of an endless life? Do the probabilities in favor of the doctrine overbalance the probabilities against it, and give us a reasonable ground for ordering our lives in accordance with it as a valid truth? We propose to estimate these probabilities from three standpoints: the origin and nature of man, the rationality of the universe, and the moral character of God.

Every human being, as we all know, begins life as a single organic cell. As this cell develops, a more or less specialized form is assumed. The vertebrate embryo comes into being, and after that the human embryo. In due time the embryo is ready to be born as a fully developed infant. The striking thing about all these changes from cell to embryo, and from embryo to infant, is the fact that the life is continuous. Whatever form the organism takes on in passing through these prenatal stages of its development, it never loses its vital energy. The spark of life, with which it started, is retained to the end. But an equally striking thing is that this individual life continues after birth as truly as before. As the infant grows, he develops into consciousness, and soon shows signs of self-consciousness. He

recognizes the existence of other beings like himself, and enters into their thoughts and feelings and purposes.

As youth comes on, all of his experiences increase and widen. He puts himself back into the time of preceding generations, back to the first appearance of the human race upon this planet, back to the first glimmerings of a visible universe. But in it all he remains one and the same self. His knowledge has changed. His conception of his own powers has changed; but he has not lost his identity in any of his experiences, either with his own past or with the past of his race.

And so it is when the youth becomes a man and his powers unfold themselves in a wider sphere. His life is continuous in every stage of his development, and always remains identical with itself. These facts concerning the life of man from a single organic cell to the complete unfolding of his powers create at least a presumption in favor of his survival after death, for they simply affirm that the principle of self-identity amid diversity, so evident in all his previous history, will not be annihilated by even this eventful change.

But the greatest of all facts concerning man is that in the process of his development he comes to be a person, the highest of all known existences; and this fact in particular seems to mark him for a continuous future life. Having attained to self-consciousness, he is able to objectify his ideas and examine into their ground or source. He can investigate the universe and form some conception of its origin and significance. He can discuss the question as to what his own place now is in it, as Huxley and Wallace have done, and have his own opinions as to how he attained this place and what will be his future destiny, as John Fiske has endeavored to point out. The chief aim of nature evidently is to produce such a creature as he turns out to be, an individual possessing the powers of reason and will to such a degree that he can search for the ultimate grounds of things, and apply his knowledge to his own self-development.

Nothing is more apparent as we rise in the scale of organic life than the increase of individuality. In the lowest organisms both animal and vegetable characteristics are so confused that

biologists are unable to tell us to which of the two great kingdoms they belong. But this confusion does not long exist. As we ascend in the scale of being we soon find that the life of the organism becomes constantly more separate and distinct. In the adult form no doubt any longer exists as to its proper classification. This individuality reaches its climax among all the objects of nature in *man,* and that is the reason why man is such an enigma to science.

For individuality, as Caillard has so clearly pointed out, always has a double aspect, an outer and an inner. The outer is open to scientific investigation. Its phenomena are capable of being classified under their appropriate heads. But the inner does not yield itself to this treatment. It stands by itself. It is known only to the man himself. It is the bane of science, because it cannot be generalized. When *man* is treated solely from the external point of view, he is merely a bundle of impressions, a stream of conscious experiences, as Hume and Huxley regard him. But this course ignores the principal thing about man, which is the internal aspect of his individuality, his self-knowledge, which is intuitive, incommunicable to another, stands out alone by itself, and separates him from all other known existences. It is this aspect of man that takes the problem of his future destiny out of the sphere of science, and takes man out of the category of all other organisms open to our knowledge.

The ground for the existence of all lower organisms seems to terminate with death. They find in the visible order of things all the opportunity for development that their powers require, and they die from the natural exhaustion of those powers. The function of man is different. He never is contented with his attainments. He always knows that he could do more and better under more favorable conditions. The more highly educated and cultured he becomes, the more vividly does he realize how limited he is, and how far he falls short of his possibilities. He is always looking to the future, always forming ideals of what he ought to do and become.

This ability to idealize himself and everything about him creates a presumption that he will survive death, that his de-

veloped but unused powers will not be forever annihilated by the sudden cessation of the beating of the heart. Of course this presumption, derived from the origin and nature of man, that he is destined to a continuation of life beyond the present, is based simply on the ground that he is fitted to survive the present. It does not establish the fact of such survival. It only furnishes a reasonable expectation, which should be taken into consideration in making our estimate of what probably is to be from what now is and what has been.

It is to be noted, however, that this presumption of a future life for man is far different and far stronger than the one often derived from the history of insect life. When the butterfly emerges from the chrysalis, it leaves its encasement behind it to be resolved into its elements, but it does not take on powers that cannot find their opportunity for a full development in its new sphere. Man, from the very fact of being a man, possesses such powers, and the more developed he is the more he realizes how much he is hampered and curtailed in their use.

One of the chief objections to this presumption comes from physiological psychology, and arises from the well-established relation of the mind to the brain. Everybody knows that a blow on the head will destroy memory and produce a state of semi-consciousness, that imbecility is due to an arrest of brain development, and that drugs can very quickly change the character of one's ideas by producing an overstimulation of the cells of the brain. Anatomists, physiologists, and pathologists agree not only that thought is a function of the brain, but that special forms of thought are connected with special portions of the brain. Our thoughts about things seen are connected with the occipital lobe, about things heard with the temporal lobe, and when we speak we use a portion of the frontal lobe. All intelligent students of the subject recognize the fact that our minds are absolutely dependent, so far as we know them, upon the brain. Hence the question inevitably arises, how can there be any rational ground for belief in a life hereafter when science has taught almost every schoolboy the fact that the gray matter of the brain is the seat of all our mental powers?

Admitting in every detail the intimate connection of our minds with our bodies, there are at least three different theories that may be taken to account for this relation. One of these theories is well stated and ably maintained by E. Duhring, when he says: "The phenomena of consciousness correspond, element for element, to the operations of special parts of the brain. . . . So far as life extends, we have before us only an organic function, not a Ding-an-sich, or an expression of that imaginary entity, the Soul. This fundamental proposition . . . carries with it the denial of the immortality of the soul, since where no soul exists, its mortality or immortality cannot be raised as a question." This may well be called the production theory of the relation of mind and body.

Professor Clifford ably champions the combination theory and considers the theory incompatible with individual immortality. "Consciousness," he says, "is not a simple thing, but a complex; it is the combination of feelings into a stream . . . Inexorable facts connect our consciousness with this body that we know; and that not merely as a whole, but the parts of it are connected severally with parts of our brain-action. If there is any similar connection with a spiritual body, it only follows that the spiritual body must die with the natural one."

But there is a third theory of this relation open to our choice, namely, the transmission theory, which Professor James has recently elaborated. "When we think of the law that thought is a function of the brain," he says, "we are not required to think of productive function only; we are entitled also to consider permissive or transmissive function. And this the ordinary psycho-physiologist leaves out of his account." According to this latter view he goes on to say, "our soul's life, as we here know it, would none the less in literal strictness be the function of the brain. The brain would be the independent variable, the mind would vary dependently on it." As this permissive theory fully accounts for all the facts as well as either of the other theories, we are justified in adopting it as the true theory, and in holding that the inherent probability of man's continuous existence after death is not set aside by any known interdependence of mind and body.

But the probability in favor of the continuance of human personality after death is greatly increased when we come to consider the constitution of the universe and the evidences that exist there of a rational plan or purpose.

Astronomy, geology, biology, psychology, and all the other sciences, as well as philosophy itself, would perish if the rationality of the universe should be denied or seriously doubted. If man did not take it for granted that his mind was rationally constructed, and could, under the guidance of the laws of thought, detect fallacies in his own mental processes and the processes of others, he would never undertake the formation of a science. Nor would he undertake it if he did not assume that the universe is capable of being understood by the application of those laws. Otherwise all motive for scientific study would be wanting. The very idea of making the attempt to comprehend things scientifically would never enter the mind. Every human being would be as listless and indifferent to the nobler aspects of the universe around him as a brute.

The moment the mind begins to see the order that reigns in nature, it must assert that this order exists for an intelligible end. Now the assumption of human immortality fits in with this teleological view of the universe. It fills out that view and helps to give it a solid basis. Otherwise, the highest known products of the universe — rational beings and their ideals — have no permanent place in the system of things.

In assuming a future life we merely maintain that the same rational end which holds good in this present world will hold good in another; that what we see to be rational before death will be rational after. The survival of personality is based upon the implication that the opportunity for realizing perfection offered in the present order of things will not be annihilated almost at the very moment when it begins to be attained.

All sound ethics in our present life requires that we should regard a self-conscious being as of far higher value than any form of matter. It demands with no uncertain voice that we reverence personality above impersonal force. Is it, then, too much to say that no ethics can show itself rational without ascrib-

ing at least the same degree of reality and permanence to personality as science everywhere ascribes to mere matter? In the light of our present knowledge the three great postulates of a rational theory of the universe are the conservation of physical energy, the indestructibility of matter, and the conservation of personality. Each of these postulates requires the other two to give us a harmonious survey of the entire field of investigation that is open to our view.

But the presumption of a future life for man is after all chiefly dependent upon our conception of the nature and character of God. The existence of an Absolute is here assumed, and so is also the view that this Absolute is a personal Absolute. It would, of course, be too great a diversion from our present purpose to attempt any statement of the grounds for these assumptions. But granting their truthfulness, it is not difficult to see that the probability of human immortality is greatly affected by the character of this Being, and will rise or fall according as we believe or disbelieve in His moral trustworthiness.

The perfect goodness of the Absolute is evidently not capable of demonstration, but it is the only ground upon which we can account for all the good in the world and hope for a good issue from all the evil. Human life cannot be understood without it. If God is the Father of mankind, as well as the Creator, the total of human history has some rational significance. And just as we base our belief in the hypotheses of science upon the completeness of their working, so we should assume the moral perfection or infinite goodness of the Absolute from the order and hope that flow from it.

If we grant this goodness, then the endless life of man follows as a necessary corollary. For if God is infinitely wise and good, He will not annihilate man at death, cutting him off in the infancy of his powers. The reason and conscience in God will find their permanent expression in the reason and conscience of man. God will seek in man, possessed to some extent of like powers with Himself, perpetual fellowship. For man is continually finding himself able, with ever increasing approximation to the truth, to "think the thoughts of God after Him."

This implies that the human and divine have, to some extent, a common nature; just as man's power, partially at least, to transcend in thought the temporal implies some relation to the eternal. It is hard to see how any being thus capable of entering into ethical relationship with God could drop out of existence without occasioning a definite loss to God, leaving a void in His experience that no other being could fill.

Each finite human person is a unique ethical being of far more worth to God than he is to himself. No other creature can take just the place he takes in his relationship to God. The value of man is, therefore, beyond all human calculation. For he is not only derived from God and sustained by Him, but he is the reflex of His own infinite powers. How can we possibly regard death as the termination of this relationship? Must it rather not be a mere incident in the earthly system of things, of no significance outside the physical order with which alone it is concerned?

This doctrine of the natural immortality of man is, of course, no new thing in history. On the contrary, it has been strongly maintained by many of the greatest thinkers of our race. Plato held that birth and death are but phases of the same life flowing out from and returning to the fountain of Being, that our powers for discovering the order of the world declare our divine origin. Origen, one of the greatest intellects of his age, stoutly upholds the endless life of man. Death, he declares, has no power over the soul, for it existed before time in the invisible world of spirits and is kindred in essence to God Himself. Berkeley cannot find anywhere in this universe a hint that death is the decay of spirit, for spirit is self-active, unchanging in its nature, and absolutely permanent. Variation and decay are foreign to its very essence.

It is doubtful if a more solid piece of reasoning in favor of a future life for man has ever been constructed than that set forth by Bishop Butler. He does not attempt to demonstrate human immortality, but to point out its inherent probability, and to show why a wise man will shape his life in accordance with it. His argument is based upon the fundamental maxim that whatever exists now will presumably exist forever unless it can

be made evident that something fatal to that existence stands in the way. If it cannot be shown that death is the destruction of the soul, the fact that the soul exists now constitutes a strong probability that nothing will destroy it, and that it is endowed with an endless life.

To Kant the sublimest fact in the consciousness of man is duty. In it he finds the explanation of human life and the pledge of immortality. Duty requires perfect conformity to the moral law, but perfect conformity in this life is an impossibility. All that can be done is to start toward the goal which will require an endless future for its complete realization. But the Highest who gave the law and commands man to attain it will see that the means are provided, and will confer upon him an everlasting life.

Such are a few of the utterances upon this subject by the leading minds of the past, and the matter has by no means been neglected by the thinkers of the present. Indeed, within the past few years in our own country, to say nothing of other lands, many of our ablest intellectual leaders — Royce, Gordon, Fiske, and others — have given the matter their profoundest thought, and there is a substantial agreement among them that man is destined to an immortal life. The more we know of this present life the more vivid and definite does this conviction come to be. It has always been true that life has brought immortality to light just in proportion as it has come to realize its own dignity and put a just estimate upon its own worth.

The doctrine of human immortality in the past has often been associated with grossly sensual conceptions and radically false ideals. Some, in their extreme advocacy of "other worldliness," have fallen little short of making earth a hell, in order to merit heaven. The notion of a future life commonly entertained in our day is derived from the dark ages, and partakes of the narrowness and ignorance of man and nature characteristic of that period. Enlightened people of the present generation, with their ever-broadening field of knowledge, have little use for such a view. Moreover, it is unquestionably true that our actual duties lie in our present environment, and anything is a blessing that

will keep man sufficiently in the dark regarding his future destiny to force him to attend properly to his daily terrestrial tasks. What can be more unwise and futile than to spend our time in preaching to the immortal souls of men, while we do nothing to relieve the distress and anguish of their mortal bodies? In a certain sense it is true that, if we live up to the demands of the Golden Rule in the life that now is, the future will take care of itself.

But, after all, how can we properly conform to this rule without some knowledge of the true range and bearing of the present life? If the existence of ourselves and of all other persons, past, present, and to come, is limited to the world that now is, that fact must vastly affect our conception of our present duties. A thousand and one enterprises for the advancement of mankind in knowledge and virtue will not be entered upon at all if this is taken as our standpoint. We could not tolerate the slow progress and bitter disappointments that we know would inevitably be our lot.

The unrest and overeagerness for results which now often impede individual development and retard the cause of social regeneration, would be immensely lessened if more emphasis were put upon the larger hope, the wider outlook. The gloom of our personal bereavements, and the shock that comes with the first consciousness of the decay of our natural powers; the sufferings of the incurably diseased; the horrors endured by the victims of war and pestilence; and the long catalogue of ills due to the ignorance and the neglect, the oppression and the despair, of mankind would not cut the nerve of manly endeavor half so frequently as they now do if eternity, instead of time, were taken as our point of view.

The apathy often apparent in the Christian church concerning "the life everlasting" is not due so much to historical criticism of the ground of its belief, or the lack of scientific proof of its position, as to the low ideal that is generally taken of what that life is. When we think of it as we have a right to think of it, not simply as a condition of freedom from the cares and sorrows and turmoils of the world, a state of merely passive contemplation, but one where all healthful and normal capacities will be utilized,

where whatever of intellectual and emotional and moral power we possess will be completely and joyfully employed, we will impart a dignity and significance to the present life that cannot fail to be the source of untold inspiration to manly effort, and a perpetual foundation of mental serenity and peace.

FRANK SARGENT HOFFMAN.

*Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.*

# THE RESULTS OF RECENT ARCHÆOLOGY FOR THE HISTORY OF PALESTINE.

The fundamental source of information in regard to any ancient country is its surviving literature. If we wish to know the life of the Greeks or the Romans, we must turn to the Greek and Latin classics. If we wish to know ancient Palestine, we must examine the Old Testament.

When we study the classical literatures, we are at once confronted with the difficulty that they are fragmentary. There are long periods in regard to which they give us little information; there are many allusions in historians and poets that are obscure; and there are many details of life that are not explained. The Old Testament literature is even more fragmentary. Modern criticism has demonstrated that the earliest written literature of the Hebrews is not older than 1000 B. C., and this conclusion is confirmed by the fact that alphabetic writing did not exist in Palestine before that date. For the period prior to these earliest written records, we have only the oral traditions of the nation. These will carry us back with a fair degree of certainty to the time of Moses and the exodus from Egypt, but before that period there are only vague recollections of the tribal affinities and tribal experiences of the nomadic forefathers of Israel. Hebrew written literature began in the age of David and Solomon with collections of poetry and lists of officials. Between 900 and 800 B. C. a school of historians flourished in the kingdom of Judah to which we owe the oldest stratum of the Pentateuch and of the other historical books of the Old Testament. Between 800 and 750 B. C., another school of historians flourished in the Northern Kingdom, to which we owe a secondary stratum in the historical books. The writings of these early historians have come down to us only in excerpts made for purposes of religious edification by later compilers, and from them we gain at the best a very incomplete conception of the beginnings of the Hebrew people.

Between 750 and 500 B. C. the Prophets flourished; but their writings also are fragmentary, and they leave us in the dark as to long periods of the history. For the period of the Exile we have almost no information, and for the time of the return we have only fragmentary extracts from the biographies of Ezra and Nehemiah. It appears, accordingly, that the Old Testament yields no definite information about Palestine before the year 1200 B. C., that it contains a scanty, traditional account of the events from 1200 to 1000 B. C., and that it contains a fuller but still fragmentary record from 1000 B. C. down to the time of Christ. There is a great deal, therefore, that we should like to know about the history, the civilization, and the religion of ancient Palestine that we cannot learn from the Old Testament. Yet this literature is so important and so interesting that it makes us anxious to know more about the life of the race that composed it.

In the failure of literature to give us a full account of the ancient nations, we turn to Archæology as our second most important source of information. The men of the past have left not merely written books, but also inscriptions, temples, houses, and other evidences of their civilization, buried beneath the rubbish of centuries. If these can be discovered, they will immensely increase our historical knowledge. The excavations in Rome, Pompeii, and Herculaneum, in Athens, Corinth, Delphi, and other cities of Italy and Greece, have doubled our knowledge of the classical civilizations. From Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt, and Persia no literatures have survived. Nevertheless, the histories of these countries have been almost completely reconstructed through archæological discoveries. Accordingly there is every reason to expect that the knowledge of ancient Palestine gained from the Old Testament will be materially augmented by archæological research in that country.

Palestine is covered with artificial mounds, known as tells, that mark the sites of ancient cities and towns. The process by which such tells come into being is as follows: The first settlers selected the top of some hill that could easily be defended, and erected there their houses of sun-dried brick, or of loose stones plastered with mud, and enclosed these with a wall of brick or of

stone. Into such a village agricultural produce continually was brought, but nothing was ever carried out of it. All the refuse of the houses and stables was thrown into the streets and courts, so that there was a continual increase in the height of the hill. In this way four or five inches on an average might be added to the elevation in the course of a century. When an enemy captured the town, he burned the roofs of poles and thatch, and killed or deported the inhabitants. The mud houses, being left uncovered, soon crumbled in the winter rains; and their walls fell in, filling up the streets and the courts, but leaving perhaps a foot or two of the original wall in position at the base. When new settlers occupied the site, they did not take the trouble to dig down to the original foundations, but simply leveled off the surface, and built their new city on the top of the old one, the streets and the walls of the houses running on entirely different lines from those of the older place. Thus, every time the city was destroyed, a new stratum was formed, characterized by a different plan from its predecessors. By such a process a very stately mound may arise in the course of 3,000 or 4,000 years, and when it is excavated, beginning at the top, we find in each level a record of the life of the city during the period when this level was formed.

If all the mounds of Palestine could be thoroughly investigated, we should have a complete conception of the life of the ancient inhabitants of the country. But unfortunately the Turkish government opposes so many obstacles to exploration and makes so many burdensome restrictions, that little has yet been done in Palestine in comparison with what has been accomplished in Egypt or Babylonia. Only four mounds have been investigated thus far: that of Tell el-Hesy, which marks the site of ancient Lachish in southern Judah; that of Tell Jezer, which marks the site of ancient Gezer; that of Ta'anak, which represents ancient Taanach; and of Tell Mutesellim, which corresponds to ancient Megiddo. The first was explored by Professor Petrie and Dr. Frederick Bliss in the employ of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The second is now being investigated by Mr. Macalister for the same society. The third is being excavated by

Dr. Sellin for the Austrian Palestine Society; and the fourth, by Dr. Schumacher for the German Palästina Verein. In Jerusalem extensive excavations have been carried on since 1864, when Sir Charles Wilson began excavations on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

As a result of these explorations a great deal of important information in regard to ancient Palestine has been obtained, but we should still have an imperfect conception of the early history of the country were it not for the remarkable finds that have been made in the lands adjacent to Syria. From time immemorial Syria has been a center of conflict between the great nations bordering upon it. It has never been strong enough to maintain an independent political existence, and consequently has stood almost continuously under the rule of foreign conquerors. Since the beginning of the Christian era it has been ruled successively by the Romans, the Byzantines, the Arabs, the Crusaders, and the Turks; and in like manner in the pre-Christian period it stood successively under the rule of the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Persians, and the Greeks. In consequence of this the records of these foreign nations are full of information in regard to Palestine. Their kings describe the expeditions that they made to this country, the battles that they fought there, the tribute that they received, and the officers that they appointed; and from these accounts we supplement in a most welcome manner the scanty information derived from the Old Testament and from the native monuments of the country.

So marked a feature is foreign rule in Palestine that the periods of the history of the country are most naturally divided on the basis of the foreign dominations. The first period extends from about 3500 B. C. to 2500 B. C. We may call it the South Babylonian period, because at this time Palestine stood under the rule of one or another of the great cities of South Babylonia. Until recently nothing was known about this period; but now, thanks to the discoveries in Babylonia, it has become one of the best understood eras of ancient history. In 1877 De Sarzec began the excavation of the mound of Telloh in South Babylonia. It proved to cover the ruins of the ancient city of

Shirpurla, the capital of the kingdom of Lagash. Here he was fortunate enough to find the temple-library, containing 30,000 tablets. From these the history of this city has been learned with great completeness from about 4000 B. C. down to 2000 B. C. In 1889 the University of Pennsylvania undertook the exploration of the mound of Niffer, which marks the site of the ancient city of Nippur. Excavations have been carried on at this point more or less continuously down to the present time, and here also many tablets have been discovered dating from a time prior to 2280 B. C., when the city was destroyed by Kudur Nankhundi, King of Elam.

From these discoveries the astonishing fact has been made clear that Palestine was ruled by South Babylonia between 3500 and 2500 B. C., and that active trade was kept up between Babylonia and Syria all through this period. Ur-Nina, who, on the minimum calculation, lived 3200 B. C., brought cedar wood for his temples and palaces from Mount Amanus and Mount Lebanon. Lugalzaggisi, who reigned at least 3000 B. C., has recorded that he subdued all the lands from the Sea of the Rising Sun to the Sea of the Setting Sun, and that he set up his statue on the shores of the Mediterranean as a symbol of his sovereignty. Sarganisharali, King of Agade, who reigned about 2770 B. C., not only subdued Syria, but even crossed the sea in ships and established his authority in Cyprus. This statement has been confirmed by the discovery of a seal in the island of Cyprus bearing an inscription stating that it belonged to one of the officials of this king. Gudea, King of Lagash, about 2650 B. C., brought cedars from Mount Amanus, building stone and alabaster from Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, copper from Mount Hermon, and gold from Arabia to adorn the temple of the god of his capital city.

The Palestinian remains that belong to this period are the lowest strata in the mound of Gezer, and similar strata in other parts of the country. These consist of caves hewn in the soft limestone rock, containing chipped flints, bone and wood implements, pottery, and other products of the neolithic age. Bronze or iron are not found, and the caves themselves bear evidence of

having been excavated with bone or with wood implements. The remains found in them show that this people cultivated cereals of various sorts, and that they bred swine and goats. No traces of their religion are discovered, except in the presence of rude phallic emblems. The idol-worshiping stage of religion had not yet been reached. Around the mouths of the caves multitudes of depressions known as "cup marks" are found in the surface of the rocks. These were produced by rotating a stone until a semi-spherical or melon-shaped hollow was formed similar to the pot-holes worn by stones in beds of brooks. Sometimes as many as a hundred cup marks are found in an area not more than ten feet square. They vary from the size of a thimble to that of a barrel. Similar cup marks are found all around the world, extending from the most northern regions down to about 30 degrees north latitude. It has been much disputed what was their original design, but it is now generally believed that they served a religious purpose. Some have supposed that they were meant to receive offerings presented to the spirits, but the fact that many of them are cut in perpendicular rocks seems to preclude this hypothesis.

This primitive people cremated its dead, using for that purpose a cave fitted with a sort of chimney cut up through the rock in order to secure a good draught. The bottom of such a cave at Gezer is covered with the ashes of human bodies to a depth of over a foot. In these ashes a number of unburned bones were discovered, and from them it has been possible to reconstruct the ethnological features of the race. They did not belong to the Semites, since their skulls were of a different shape, and they were of inferior stature. None of the men exceeded 5 feet 7 inches in height. The fact that they burned their dead also proves that they were not Semites, since cremation has never been a custom of the Semitic peoples. Moreover the names of places mentioned in the oldest Babylonian inscriptions are not of a Semitic type, and many place names in modern Palestine which do not admit of a Semitic etymology are probably survivals of the names given by this aboriginal race. It is possible even that a red-haired and fair-skinned type which appears in the later population of Syria may be due to a mixture of this aboriginal

population with the later Semitic invaders. The ethnological affinities of these aborigines are obscure. Apparently they were akin to the peoples of Europe who were driven southward in the Ice Age and have left their stone remains all over southern Europe and northern Africa.

The second period of the history of Palestine extends from 2500 to 1700 B. C. This we may call the North Babylonian period, because during it Palestine stood under the rule of the city of Babylon. About 2500 B. C. a great wave of Semitic migration poured out of Arabia and overflowed the whole of Western Asia. It put a new dynasty on the throne of Babylonia, and raised Babylon from being an obscure town to being the chief city of the ancient world. This new dynasty is known as the First Dynasty of Babylon. Nearly all of its kings bear names that show they were of Arabian origin. The first king reigned about 2300 B. C., and from this time onward we have an unbroken list of kings with the years of their reigns down to the fall of Babylon in 539 B. C. The sixth king was the great Hammurabi, one of the most powerful and wisest monarchs that has ever reigned. He unified Babylonia and promulgated a code of laws in 282 sections that has lately been discovered on a monument carried away by the Elamites to Susa. Many of the provisions of this code anticipate the legislation of the Pentateuch, and show that the oldest laws of the Hebrews were little more than a revised edition of the code of this ancient king. He is probably to be identified with Amraphel of Genesis xiv, the contemporary of Abram.

Under the rule of the kings of the First and of the Second Dynasty, Palestine remained a Babylonian province and absorbed Babylonian civilization more completely than it had at an earlier time. Cuneiform writing penetrated to Syria and became the common script of the country. Along with writing came a knowledge of the literature and of the religion of the Babylonians. In view of what we now know of the influence of Babylon upon Palestine in this early period, we must believe that the correspondences between portions of the Old Testament and Babylonian literature are due to the fact that Babylonian learning

was absorbed by the Canaanites and was afterwards passed on by them to the Hebrews at the time of the Hebrew conquest of the land. The Babylonian story of creation, of the Garden of Eden, of the antediluvian patriarchs, and of the flood, were all current in Canaan 1000 years before Moses. The form of these legends that we have in the Old Testament is simply a revision designed to adapt them to the higher spirit of the Hebrew religion.

The remains in Palestine which correspond to this period are found in the mounds of Gezer and Tell el-Hesy, just above the caves of the earliest inhabitants. In this level the Semites make their first appearance. They dwelt in houses of rough stone plastered with clay. They furnished their houses with pottery of a much superior sort to that made by the cave-dwellers. They used implements of copper and bronze as well as of stone. They cultivated the soil, and bred sheep, goats, and camels. Their religion seems to have consisted almost exclusively in the worship of the "Mother Goddess," Ashtart, since immense numbers of clay plaques depicting her naked figure are found in this level, and since these are the only sort of images. All are broken, which indicates that the breaking of them was a religious ceremony. From the fact that they worshiped the Mother Goddess only, it may be safe to infer that they still stood upon the matriarchal level of social organization. That is to say, marriages were contracted for only a short time; and after the period was ended, the fathers returned to their own tribes, so that the children grew up with their mothers and uncles and knew nothing of their fathers. In such a state of society the gods cannot be conceived of as fathers. The mother takes the leading place in the clan, and consequently the leading deity is conceived as a mother. These people worshiped in a high place which consisted of seven huge upright stones. One smaller stone seems to have served as an altar, since it is worn smooth by usage. Under the floor of this high place, under the corners of houses, and under the thresholds, hundreds of large earthenware jars have been found containing the bones of new-born infants. These were undoubtedly offered as sacrifices to the Mother God-

dess. We find an illustration of this custom in the law of Ex. xxii, 29: "The first born of thy sons thou shalt give unto me," which, no doubt, originally was understood in the most literal fashion; and in the statement of 1 Ki. xvi, 34 that Hiel the Bethelite laid the foundation of Jericho at the cost of his first born son, and set up the gates at the cost of his youngest son. This race buried its dead, and the bones that have been found show that it was a Semitic people. Probably we should apply to it the name Amorite, since this name occurs in contemporaneous records, and since the Old Testament knows the Amorites as the oldest inhabitants of this region.

The third period of Palestinian history extends from 1700 to 1200 B. C. This we may call the Egyptian period, since the country stood at this time under the rule of the great Pharaohs of the 18th and 19th Egyptian Dynasties. About 1700 B. C. Babylonia was crippled by an invasion from the east, and this gave Egypt an opportunity to seize the provinces that had formerly belonged to her rival. Thothmes I, II, III, and IV, Amenophis I, II, III, and IV, and the numerous Rameses, held Palestine in their grasp during this entire period. On the walls of the magnificent temples that they reared at Luxor, Karnak, and elsewhere, they carved records of their expeditions and long lists of the cities that they had captured and the spoils that they had brought back. From these we gain a fairly complete account of the history of the country under Egyptian rule.

More important even than the inscriptions of the kings are the famous Tell el-Amarna letters that were discovered in 1888 in the palace of Amenophis IV in Egypt. These are a collection of three hundred letters sent by kings of Syria to the kings of Egypt about 1400 B. C. It is an astonishing thing that such documents should have come down to us, and more surprising still that they should be written, not in the language of Canaan, nor even in the language of Egypt, but in the Babylonian language and the Babylonian character. It shows how deep an impression Babylonian civilization made upon Syria during the preceding period that, even after the country had been three hundred years under Egyptian rule, the Canaanites still continued to

use Babylonian cuneiform in their official despatches. From these letters we get a more complete and vivid account of life in ancient Palestine about 1400 B. C. than we possess for any other period. We know that the country was rich and prosperous, that the cities were well built and strongly fortified, that active commerce was carried on between all parts of the land and with distant portions of Asia and Africa. The Phœnicians had already become the masters of the sea, and sailed on commercial expeditions to all parts of the Mediterranean.

The picture of the country gained from these letters is confirmed by the excavations. In the third level of the mounds we find better houses than were built during the preceding period. We find strong city walls built of hewn stone. The people imported choice pottery of the type known as Mykenean from the fact that it was first discovered by Schliemann at Mykene, but which has since been found throughout the islands of the Mediterranean and in Egypt. Gold and silver ornaments of beautiful workmanship and engraved gems are also discovered. In this level lamp and bowl deposits begin to take the place of the infant sacrifices that are found in the lower level. These consist of a lamp placed between two bowls, and buried in the same position in which the jars containing the infant bones were formerly buried. The lamp seems to be a symbol of life and to be designed as a conventional substitute for the life of the child that formerly was sacrificed.

As we should expect from the Tell el-Amarna letters, cuneiform tablets are found in the mounds at this level. One was discovered by Dr. Bliss at Tell el-Hesy that mentions people already known to us from the Tell el-Amarna letters. Another has been found by Mr. Macalister at Gezer, and now it is reported that Professor Sellin has discovered a chest that held the records of the city of Taanach. This chest had been upset by some vandal, but two tablets still remained in it, and sixteen others are said to have been found in the vicinity. Such discoveries make it probable that the mounds of Palestine are full of cuneiform tablets; and that if they could only be excavated thoroughly, we should have a complete story of life in Palestine during the

Egyptian period. The King of Gezer wrote several letters to the Pharaoh that were found at Tell el-Amarna, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the replies of the Pharaoh may yet be discovered in Gezer, if only the library of that city can be unearthed. There is no reason to doubt that libraries existed in the more important towns of Palestine similar to those that have been found in Babylonia. One place bore the name of Kirjath Sepher "Book Town"; or, as perhaps it ought to be read, Kirjath Sopher, "Scribe Town." Some lucky explorer will one day find the records of such a place as this, and then we shall know this early period more thoroughly than we do many periods of mediæval history.

The fourth period of Palestinian history extends from 1200 to 800 B. C. About 1200 B. C. the Hebrews conquered the land. Babylon had long since lost her strength, and Egypt also had grown weak under the later Pharaohs of the 19th Dynasty. This decline of the ancient empires gave the Hebrew Bedawin the opportunity to penetrate the land and seize it for themselves. At this point naturally Babylonian and Egyptian sources of information fail us, but this is where our Hebrew records begin. Their account of the conquest shows that the Israelites did not exterminate the older inhabitants, but that they made terms with them and lived side by side with them in the cities and villages. We are told again and again that the children of this or that tribe did not destroy the Canaanites, but that the Canaanites "dwelt in the midst of Israel unto this day." It was like the conquest of England by the Normans. They became the dominant race, but they did not exterminate the older population. The Hebrews occupied the cities that the Canaanites had built, and cultivated the orchards and vineyards that they had planted. They themselves were rude barbarians who brought nothing with them but their higher religion, and they learned all the other elements of civilization from their Canaanitish predecessors. Israel of the period of the kings was not a pure Hebrew race, but was a mixed people made up of half Hebrew and half Canaanitish elements.

The archæological picture that we gain from remains of this period in the mounds of Palestine corresponds with the history

of the conquest. Life remained much the same as in the previous Egyptian period, only there was a tendency to degeneration in architecture and art such as we should expect from the infusion of a barbarous population into the midst of an older civilization. The only progress that is noted is the appearance of iron and the beginning of alphabetic writing. Iron was probably introduced by the Philistines, who came from Asia Minor, and who entered the country by way of the sea at about the same time that the Hebrews entered it from the eastern desert. Alphabetic writing was probably introduced by Phœnician traders who learned it from some western people on the shores of the Mediterranean. The alphabet is first seen in brief inscriptions on jar-handles and on seals. The earliest inscriptions of any length are not older than 1000 B. C. The oldest alphabetic inscription known is that erected in honor of Hiram, King of the Sidonians, probably the contemporary of David, and soon after this the inscription of Mesha, King of Moab, and the Siloam inscription, were set up.

The fifth period of the history of Palestine extends from 800 to 600 B. C., and may be called the Assyrian period, because at this time the country stood under the influence of the great Assyrian empire whose capital was Nineveh on the Tigris. The gradual advance of Assyria and its conquest, first of Damascus, then of Israel, and finally of Judah, were known to us from the Old Testament historians and prophets, but no details of these conquests were given. This lack of detail has been supplied by the magnificent discoveries made in the mounds of Assyria. Through the excavations of Botta, Layard, Rassam, and Rawlinson the palaces of the Assyrian kings have been opened, and on their walls have been found inscriptions containing the annals of these monarchs. In 1854 Rassam discovered the library of King Ashurbanipal in which he had gathered the records of all his royal predecessors. From these records we are able to construct the history of Assyria with such precision that we know exactly what each king was doing in any given year of his reign. Through these discoveries a flood of light has been thrown upon the Book of Kings and the writings of the early prophets, for we are now able to fit these into an exact chronological framework.

Twenty-five years ago the utterances of the prophets were mysteries. They were regarded as forecastings of the distant future, and no man was able to get a clear idea of what they really meant. Now, in the light of Assyrian discovery, they have become as intelligible as the editorial comments on current events in a modern newspaper. We now see that, instead of being obscure forecastings of the distant future, they are sermons addressed to the men of their own times, with clear understanding of the historical circumstances and with practical advice as to what should be done.

Much light has also been thrown upon the history of this period by excavations that have been made in Jerusalem, but an account of these would require more time than we have now at our disposal.

The sixth and last period of the history of early Palestine is the new Babylonian period. This extended from the fall of Nineveh in 606 B. C. to the fall of Babylon in 539 B. C. When Nineveh was destroyed by the Medes, the old city of Babylon, that had survived through all the vicissitudes of Assyrian domination, rose once more and took the lead of the nations of Asia. The provinces of the Assyrian empire passed into her hands, and along with them came Syria and Palestine. We have the records of the Babylonian kings of this period from Nebuchadrezzar down to the destruction of the city. We have Nebuchadrezzar's own account of his invasion of Palestine and of the destruction of the Jewish nation. We have also records of the kings who ruled Babylon during the period of the exile. These supplement in the most welcome way the scanty information given in the Old Testament. We have an account of the fall of Babylon, both by Nabonidus, the last King of Babylon, and by Cyrus; and these clear up many difficulties in the Biblical narratives.

With the fall of Babylon the ancient history of the Orient properly comes to an end, and we enter the mediæval period of Oriental history. From this hasty survey it will be clear, I think, that the contributions which Archæology has made to the history of ancient Palestine are of the utmost importance. Archæology has opened up to us a knowledge of the two thousand years that

precede the earliest beginnings of Hebrew history, and it has more than doubled our knowledge of the times that are covered by the Old Testament. There is no department of science where the results have been larger and more brilliant than in this field of research.

LEWIS BAYLES PATON.

*Hartford, Conn.*

# SOCIAL CONTROL OF MARRIAGE.

(*A Historical Study.*)

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At a time when the church is manifesting great interest in the subject of marriage and divorce, when an increasing number of denominations have appointed special committees to report, and interdenominational coöperation is organizing along these lines, a paper upon some phase of this problem may be of interest. "Some phase," I say; for the general subject is too large and vague for brief compass. With certain present aspects of these topics in principle, law, and observance we are generally familiar; but historical data lying back of these facts are less readily accessible, and are very important in order to get a right perspective for thought and action. To this end of historical background, as bearing upon present problems, I desire to call attention to a book which has opportunely appeared just now: Dr. George E. Howard's *History of Matrimonial Institutions,* in three large volumes. It is the result of fifteen years of study on the part of a professor in Chicago University, and is by far the most scholarly work on this or any other social subject that has appeared in this country for years. Few such bibliographies on any subject are accessible as appear in about 140 pages of this work. The books constitute a great monument of learning and of practical information. The clear style, wide investigation, and masterly analysis enable the reader to have at command and within compass the substance of an immense library of volumes. A minute outline of contents would be wearisome. Suffice it to say that Dr. Howard has three main themes in the scope of his treatment: (I) The different theories of the primitive family; (II) The matrimonial institutions of England; (III) The same of the United States. Under each his main object is to discuss two things: (1) Marriage in theory, custom, and regulation in its historical development; (2) the same regarding divorce. He is also especially concerned to trace the relation

to marriage and divorce of the three parties most concerned, viz., the individuals contracting, the church, and the state. We are not so much concerned in this paper with Dr. Howard's conclusions, or even with his theories, as with his facts. We must form our own conclusions and they will often differ with the author's, even on his own data; but we cannot get at such an array of facts anywhere as this book presents. His own most evident interest, from his study, is the growth of the civil control of marriage, and the vital importance of a well-regulated marriage contract. He is less troubled with the perils of divorce. The author has evidently comparatively little interest in New Testament teaching as authoritative, and has even less critical grasp of New Testament exegesis on the divorce question. Exegetically and historically this is the weakest section of the book, and one should read President Woolsey and Dr. Peabody as corrective. The total effect of the book is tonic as to marriage and, on the whole, is sedative as to divorce.

But it is not the intent of this paper to make a review of this book. Its appearance just now is rather used as the occasion to call attention, at this time, from the data furnished by it and cognate reading, to the side of the marriage and divorce problem most overlooked by ministers. Marriage and the formation of the home is more fundamental than divorce and the sundering of the family life. It is with marriage and not with divorce that we are the more interested officially and responsibly. Divorce legislation is one thing, chiefly civil. *Whom* we will marry is another, chiefly eccelesiastical and personal, which of course incidentally involves our view as to divorce. The church duty today is chiefly concerned with its own standards of matrimony, in view of the fact that marriage is now both a civil and an eccelsiastical function. As a contribution to the *marriage* side of the modern problem, let us consider some historical backgrounds of marriage theory, custom, and law as affecting present social control.

This latest book upon our subject has great value to any one who is interested in the various theories of the origin of the family, as discussed by Morgan, McLennan, Bachofen, Tyler, Sir Henry Maine, Westermarck, Herbert Spencer, and others. Nowhere

(unless we except President Schurman's chapter in his *Ethical Import of Darwinism*) do we know where one can find the tenets of various schools more succinctly and clearly interpreted; and nowhere, unless it be in Westermarck (*Human Marriage*) have these different schools been subjected to so searching criticism. In the earlier and cruder days of evolution it was thought necessary to establish universal successive stages of the family life. In ascending stages it was claimed, all over the world, the marriage relation progressed from one lower to another and still another higher type: promiscuity, consanguine intermarriage in groups of so-called brothers and sisters, matriarchy, or female line of descent from ignorance of parenthood; patriarchate, or father supremacy, issuing in the Roman Patria Potestas; polyandry, polygamy, monogamy — in this order, or in another order, but in some identical and universal order of necessary evolution everywhere. How earnestly and conclusively each has been argued out. Strict science was supposed to require it, just as the recapitulation theory in much modern pedagogy is forcing every child to go through the theoretically successive stages of his growth. But today family evolution has become much less procrustean in theory, and scholars are beginning to see that while possibly each form of sexual relation may have existed sporadically, and may yet be found, still they are all encountered in such diverse strata of civilization, and at such inexplicable times, that facts break up any one uniform and universal gradation of progress. Even if such a gradation may be shown with fair probability in one branch of the human family, it is belied in another; and, if gradual upward evolution can be shown *here,* retrogression can be shown *there,* as Westermarck showed years ago in his *History of Marriage,* and the Duke of Argyle in his *Unity of Nature.* Herbert Spencer and Darwin, too, even earlier than Westermarck, came to the conclusion of probability that pairing between one man and one woman is the typical form of sexual union from the infancy of the human race, although the union be often transitory and the rule frequently violated by other forms of union. On strictly scientific and evolutionary principles, then, even Spencer and Darwin, as well as Sir Henry Maine, have combated promiscuity and some lower stages by

biological, economic, and psychological laws, as well as upon the preponderance of facts; and Darwin concludes that "looking far enough back in the stream of science, and judging from the social habits of man, as he now exists, the most probable view is that he aboriginally lived in small communities, each with a single wife, or, if powerful, with several wives, whom he jealously guarded against all other men." (*Descent of Man*, p. 591.) Some contemporary facts are also significant: that monogamy is found prevailing today among peoples least advanced, particularly in the economic arts, as the Veddahs of Ceylon, where marriage is only dissoluble by death. Other forms short of monogamy, like polygamy, may exist, as in India, where yet ninety-five per cent. of the people are monogamous; or in Persia, according to the latest authority, where only two per cent. practice polygamy. Howard, after a most critical digest of the whole literature, says even more confidently than do Westermarck and Darwin that "unmistakably pairing has always been the typical form of human marriage," and points out that modern monogamy differs chiefly in the moral passion with which it is held, and the strong condemnation which it exercises upon lower types, which have earlier been contemporary with it, and have often been able for a time to drive it from the field. The conclusions of Dr. Howard's survey are more than the most conservative reader had expected; for while it was already clear from other writers that, certainly in the Indo-European group, such a stand for monogamy could be made at the dawn of verifiable historic times, it is almost astonishing to see the forays which can be made scientifically even into remote and lower regions, as to the probable originality and widespread hold of the monogamic standard.

Passing by the contentions of the schools as to the earliest forms of marriage ceremony (wife capture, tribal war, purchase, etc.), and coming into verifiable historic periods, Dr. Howard has discovered at earlier eras than has been generally allowed, the contractual basis of marriage. He grants the purchase feature as early and widespread, and yet contends for an earlier element of self in the contract feature than has been generally supposed. Following McLennan and others of the school of universal evolutionary stages, it has been customary with

many to regard wife-capture, by personal violence or tribal war, as the earliest form of marriage. This early barbaric form did doubtless exist; and the rule of exogamy, or marriage outside the tribe, did foster it; and there are traces of ceremonial flight and abduction even down to some modern customs, especially in Slavonic and Celtic countries, and symbols of rape are found in comparatively modern ceremonies. (Veiling the bride has been interpreted by some writers as a symbol of coyness which demanded force; even the modern casting of the shoe is thought to be suggestive of the wayside, and the ring has been interpreted as a chain, link, or fetter.) Dr. Howard is full of appreciation of all these survivals, and yet is unable to see the evidence of any widespread ground for its universality as a type of marriage, contending that it is capture which is exceptional, and that some form of purchase or even higher types of contract constitute the earliest norm of marriage. But the purchase custom in some form, he contends, is most ancient and various, and abounds in nearly every early tradition and custom. On this point Westermarck, the greatest authority, supports him. In the first stages of contract it was purchase pure and simple, a graded market price for the age or beauty or rank of the bride. Old English and German laws speak bluntly of "buying a wife." Later on this is softened into a compensation for the transfer of authority and protection over a woman from the father to that of the husband and his clan. Next the purchase price, kept up in ceremony, is given to the father or guardian, but is returned to the bridegroom, or directly to the bride as an earnest of her support. And lastly, purchase passes on into dower, where the father provides a marriage portion himself out of his own substance. These points in gradation in marriage have affected the ideas of contract and ceremony down to our own day. From earliest English times the distinction between betrothal and nuptials, or Beweddung and Gifta, were simply stages in the promise and transfer of the purchase contract. At the betrothal ceremony a small sum called "Arrha" or "Hand-gelt" was given as a token that later, at the nuptials or Gifta, the real sum would be transferred either to parents or bride as sale or dower. Gradually this betrothal sum of money passed into the mere nominal offering of

a straw, or an arrow, a broken piece of money, a cup of wine, a ring, or some other ceremonial gift. The betrothal service was in terms of the future tense, "I will," and the nuptials in terms of the present tense, "I do" or "Yes." It is an interesting fact that the modern Episcopal ritual is a blending of these two services, as anyone can see who notes the two tenses used in the component parts of that service; a service which dates back to liturgies of Elizabeth and Edward VI, and in parts to the four ancient manuals: those of Hereford, Durham, Sarum, and York. The two parts of the service are of historical importance, because in the Middle Ages and even on into the Reformation period, the question was a vital one, when a real marriage took place—at betrothal or at nuptials, whether the party said "I will," or "I do." To this day, in some parts of Scandinavia and Germany, marriage relations may begin with little scandal at the betrothal. To regulate the betrothals and to determine whether a marriage has been in words *"de futuro"* or *"de præsenti"* taxed the casuistry and the practical vigilance of the canon law, and became a fruitful source of social peril, despite the strict canonical law of marriage and divorce. In the modern marriage ceremonial, as thus developed from the actual or ceremonial idea of contract and purchase, the ring is still the trace, probably, both of the arrha of the betrothal and the gifta of the nuptials. "With this ring I thee wed and with all my worldly goods I thee endow." Since Luther's day some have read into the ring ceremony symbols of love, derived from its form and metal; but Howard's investigations seem to make quite clear that its original significance is that of a promise or payment of the earnest money which binds a contract. But the ring form of value is as old as the Romans, and the veil is borrowed from the old German customs. It is curious to read how widespread the shoe or slipper throwing custom has prevailed. Some find in it the symbol of early capture or elopement. Others regard it as the symbol of subjection, from the custom of the bridegroom stepping upon the foot of the bride, in the old ceremony, unless the bride could do it first upon him. "Who carries the slipper rules" has thus a new meaning.

But closer to our own interest, the fact comes out from the

early English forms that marriage is originally a private or domestic matter. It is not originally a civil ceremony, in our sense of that term, nor is it necessarily a religious rite, but a self-betrothal or a domestic contract, protected, however, by the most solemn ceremonial of mutual consent, guaranteed by prevailing law and custom. In the older rituals, like those of York or Sarum, even at a time when the church was performing the ceremony, as now in the Episcopal service, the formula is "who giveth" or "who giveth me this woman?" etc. It was only later that the phrase of the priest crept into the Romish service — "*Vos conjungo*" — thus transferring the bond from a domestic to an ecclesiastical function. The parent or guardian, as in Judea or Rome, the head of the house or clan, was the high priest of the ceremony, passing over the symbols of power — the sword, the hat, the mantle — from father to husband. As time went on, and self-betrothal threw off the suggestion of sale, about the tenth century, the bride sometimes selected a *Fürsprecher,* or orator, to dictate the phrases or guide the proceedings. Later, the parent and the orator were superseded by the priest as functionary. But certainly as late as the thirteenth century, in England, marriage was neither preëminently a civil nor an ecclesiastical affair. It was a civil marriage only as it was a lay marriage, and became more or less religious by the presence or benediction of the priest, or his choice as orator.

Now all this is of importance, because it was out of these customs or conditions that there gradually arose in modern times the conflict between church and state, or their partnership, in the celebration of matrimony. Various historical stages in the development of the church function have been traced:

(1.) During the first four centuries of our era no especial liturgy was prescribed, though forms were gradually concreting, until in the seventh century a liturgy makes its appearance. Generally older native customs dominated the form of celebration: Roman or Teutonic. Marriage was performed generally in the home of the bride, less frequently in church, and the priestly blessing, though commanded as a religious duty, was not exacted by the church as essential to a valid marriage.

(2.) Between the fourth and tenth centuries the custom be-

came established that soon after the wedding, though not immediately, the married pair should go to church, partake of the sacrament, and receive the priestly benediction. This led gradually to the institution of the regular "bride-mass," containing phrases directly applicable to the nuptials. In the phrases of this "bride-mass" is found the genesis of the later marriage liturgy. Generally in the first and second historic periods a priest was present to bless the service by his presence or benediction, though not necessarily to perform the ceremony.

(3.) Between the tenth and twelfth centuries the church makes rapid progress in obtaining control of marriage. An elaborate and imposing ritual is developed. The priest, inheriting the functions of the ancient orator, directs the entire celebration. The nuptial ceremony takes place before the church door and is followed immediately by the "bride-mass" in the church itself. But thus far the religious service adds nothing to the validity of the contract.

(4.) A further stage is reached only as late as the thirteenth century. The church by this time was able to anathematize the orator and appropriate his functions, and the priest gives the woman to the man, saying *Vos conjungo,* a phrase repudiated by the English reformers. Gradually the marriage ceremony at the church door passed into the church itself, and the "bride-mass" and marriage ritual became one. The marriage at the church door continued until the sixteenth century, the liturgies of Elizabeth and Edward first requiring the ceremony to be performed in the body of the church.

Even after the Roman church acquired this power, private or domestic or even clandestine marriage continued; and although the church could punish for neglect of the church function, it yet could not in theory or practice pronounce such marriages invalid. Even the Council of Trent, which tried to stem the tide of mediæval clandestine marriages, only succeeded in carrying the decree of nullity by a small majority; and this decree was not accepted in England and was rarely enforced elsewhere. Clandestine marriages continued to be valid, if contracted in terms of the present tense, until the middle of the eighteenth century in England, and until 1856 in Scotland. The modern equiva-

lent of such marriages is something like the so-called "common law marriages," which, despite the church and state, are still held to be judicially valid in many states of America, and were only abolished by statute in New York in 1903. Today the Catholic Church, which regards either common law or even civil marriage as outside the "blessing of the church," and so disciplinable, has yet not been able to make such secular marriages void even within its own communion.

Both in mediæval and modern times, the Roman Catholic control of marriage as a church ceremony is complicated by her doctrine of its sacramental nature. The history of the sacramental nature of marriage is an interesting and important one, for it has vitalized or complicated, according to our point of view, the whole modern subject of the status of marriage. It is popularly supposed that the Roman Catholic position on the sacrament of marriage is this: that a sacrament is something which can only be performed by the church. But it goes deeper than that. It grew up gradually from New Testament exegesis, tradition, and the words of the fathers on the sacredness of marriage, into its full formulation as one of the seven sacraments in the seventh century. And yet, while the sacredness of marriage was gradually ripening into a sacrament for the people, yet theories of celibacy for the clergy were also gaining ground; and we have the anomaly of a church sanctifying marriage on the one hand and yet regarding it as defilement on the other.

The church conception was that marriage is a sacrament and so indissoluble, and yet is a general remedy for natural lust from which the priest must keep himself. Therefore marriage must be made easy for the many, so as not to debar men from a holy mystery; and it must be celebrated by the church theoretically, which alone can take cognizance of the sacrament. Still the paradox survived that theoretical church control of even a sacrament could not stem the tide of Roman law, Teutonic custom, and the sacramental nature of the act itself. Hence, theological subtlety was forced, in the interest of so sacred a sacrament, to take this position: that any man and woman who declared that they took each other for husband and wife, in words of the present tense, were validly married, with or without the church

— married in sacramental bonds, even if not followed by married union; and since in theory it is a real marriage, it is necessarily sacramental and so indissoluble. Such marriages have, until comparatively recent times, stood even in ecclesiastical courts, as against subsequent and regular ceremonies. The results of all this were serious: there was a great amount of confusion as to just what the "present tense" might mean; the marriage of mere children took place; clandestine marriages without parental consent grew in numbers; generally no parish registers, till 1538, were in general use, nor could be reliable; the banns were nominally required as early as the fifth century, but they were in little use. Of civil record there was in England only this inadequate church record until 1836, when the present civil regulation came into use.

But the Catholic theory of the holiness of matrimony was still further complicated by the church doctrine of forbidden degrees. For a time prohibition of marriage was extended to the seventh degree of consanguinity. Even yet the abolition of the perennial "deceased wife's sister" bill has not successfully passed the House of Lords in our own day. The apparent inconsistency of making matrimony easy as the entrance to a sacrament, and yet so debarring its portals by forbidden degrees, came probably from the dread of the church fathers lest a sacrament be defiled by an approach to incest.

But it was the resultant social confusion of such theories and practice, fully as much as any theoretical position, that caused such a recoil at the time of the Reformation. The modern break with the sacramental theory of marriage is extreme and perilous, but historically it had causes which lay deep in the social confusions and inconsistencies resulting from the mediæval experience of the Roman church. Luther at first accepted the Catholic dogma of the marriage sacrament, but later he came to regard marriage as a mere "temporal worldly business" which does not concern the church, and is to be left to the city or state. Other eminent leaders of the Reformation went even further than Luther in rejecting the Catholic position. Still for some time in Germany marriage continued to be exclusively

celebrated by the church. Gradually there grew up the permissibility of marriage as also a civil ceremony.

But the recoil from the sacramental theory was less marked in England than in Germany. Hence the Puritan attitude in the next century under Cromwell and later in New England came as a very extreme recoil from even the English Protestant Church theory.

The legislation of the brief period of the Commonwealth is notable not only from its effect ultimately upon English legislation, but especially from its effect upon early New England custom. Under Cromwell's Civil Marriage Act of 1653, an obligatory civil ceremony before a justice of the peace is prescribed, with publication of banns, and parish register certificate. The clergy were deprived of jurisdiction at all. The ceremony was merely an expression of mutual consent, accompanied by the taking of hands (the old hand-festing); but the use of the ring is not permitted. It was, moreover, to be self-marriage: "I, A. B., do here in the presence of God the searcher of hearts take thee, C. D., to my wedded wife," etc. That was all, and everything else was forbidden by law. It is interesting to note that previous to Cromwell's time, by sixty years, the provinces of Holland and West Friesland had established a civil marriage custom, which, however, only became a law of the States General in 1656, or three years after the appearance of the English statute. This is important to remember, because the Pilgrim Fathers came immediately from Holland, and probably brought with them to New England the Dutch custom, which later became law in Holland and statute in England.

It is interesting also, and very notable, that though Cromwell made these laws as to marriage, he made no legislation as to divorce, even although Milton, his secretary, was at that time writing what is perhaps the most extreme document in the English language for laxity on that subject, and has had great influence in modern times.

After the Reformation the old order was restored, but gradually civil registration and optional religious or civil services came to establishment, first by the Hardwicke act in 1753, and later by the present law of 1836. "Thus," says Dr. Howard, "the

English marriage ends as it began, in a simple contract; but the state has succeeded in imposing upon it the condition of publicity, a task which the church first attempted, but failed to accomplish."

Turning now to our own country, it is a noteworthy fact that marriage in the early New England colonies was not only a repudiation of the Catholic, but even of the English Episcopal ideas and customs of the past. Practically for a while "the congregation and the town meeting were one and the same, but authority in marriage was exercised in the name of the lay township, and not in that of the church." Anticipating Cromwell's law of 1653, marriage was declared to be not a sacramental but a civil contract, in which the intervention of a minister was unnecessary and out of place. Governor Hutchinson said, "I suppose there had been no instance of a marriage in England lawfully celebrated by a layman, at the time the Puritans left." "I believe also," he says, "that there was no instance of marriage by a clergyman after they arrived, during the time of their charter." The minister did sometimes preach on such occasions, but he could not officiate. Instances of forbidding even preaching are on record. Edward Winslow in 1634, when in England, was imprisoned in the Fleet for four months for his lay marriage services in Massachusetts. At first this civil marriage was by custom, and not by law. The first statute requiring it and forbidding any other was in 1646 in Massachusetts, 1650 in Connecticut, 1671 in Plymouth. The law and custom began to be violated occasionally during the period of the royal governors. The first marriage performed by prayer book took place in 1686. This was the turning point, though it was as late as 1733 in Rhode Island before a minister could officiate. On the other hand, it was not until 1794 that lay celebration was permitted in Virginia — only church services were allowed. It is, however, a remarkable fact that as early as 1664, in New York colony, optional religious or civil marriage was established. In Pennsylvania under Quaker régime, where theoretically, according to George Fox, "we marry none, but are only witnesses of it," people married themselves before the regular church meeting. Only since 1885 has Pennsylvania required even license, and this

has been the only change in the marriage law of that state since 1730.

We thus see from what variant law and custom, in the colonies, our marriage procedures have come, and how complicated in theory and service is our heritage from the early days of our American life. It is of importance, however, to carry on further the growth and the confusion of this blended civil and ecclesiastical function. Nowhere else than in Dr. Howard's book is it possible to get at widely scattered data in law and custom of interest to ministers as celebrants of this vital bond. And even in this voluminous work it is a difficult task to get at the more salient facts. The other source of information most reliable is the invaluable report of the Commission of Labor on Marriage and Divorce in 1889. The reports of Dr. Dike are also of highest value as giving account of changes in legislation from year to year. Let us particularize certain points.

As to the celebrants of marriage: In early New England marriage was allowed only to settled ministers in their respective towns, while justices could marry in all the county. Gradually marriage was allowed to ministers in the county (Connecticut, 1783), later in the state, and today Dr. Howard is our authority that only Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Vermont confine this right to ministers dwelling within the state. Louisiana grants full privilege "to any clergyman or priest whether a citizen of the United States or not." In early colonial days proof of ordination, by filing of credentials, was often demanded. In some southern states a bond was required. Both these conditions are still enforced in the statutes of Kentucky, Virginia, and West Virginia. Rhode Island has a careful system of local registration of legal ministerial celebrants. In two New England states a minister must secure a commission from the governor. In Minnesota, Wisconsin, Nevada, and Arkansas he must file his credentials with the proper county officers and receive a certificate. Ohio requires a ministerial license from the county judge of probate. Licentiates may marry in Maine; and licentiates, if regular supplies over a church, may marry in Connecticut. But in most states there are few precautions by statute regarding

ministerial officials. We thus see how variant and lax and without careful jurisdiction this important function is left.

The same may be said regarding civil celebrants. Originally, as we have seen, in New England marriage was only legal before a justice of the peace or other magistrate, and the officer officiating was confined to his town or county. Today in twenty-two states the civil officer is confined to his own county or district. In all other states he may act anywhere in the state. In Massachusetts (by law of 1899) only such a limited number of justices of the peace can act as are especially designated by the governor's certificate. In different states, by statute, other civil officers may marry. In Rhode Island any justice of the supreme court; in Connecticut, for fifty years past, county, superior, and supreme justices may do so; in New York aldermen and police justices; in Tennessee speakers of the house and senate; in Mississippi, county supervisors.

In contrast with our miscellaneous civil procedure in the United States, it is to be noted that in France all marriages are regularly celebrated before the mayor of the commune, and in Germany before the registrar of the district. Optional religious ceremonies may follow or not. In England, if the marriage is a civil one, it takes place before the district registrar, who must also be present at Nonconformist weddings, though not at Anglican services.

As to licenses the custom varies. The early system of banns had its rudiments as early as the fifth century; was sporadically in force in mediæval times, with little systematic registration, however; was enforced in early New England by advertisement in church or prayer meeting, on training days, or by posting declaration on the town signpost. Gradually this all passed into the modern system of registration and license. There were banns of some sort in Connecticut till 1854, in Maine till 1858, and in Vermont up to 1864. The dual system of either banns or license survives today in Maryland, Georgia, Delaware, and Ohio. But, on the other hand, neither banns nor licenses have been required in New York state during the last century, but anyone conducting the service is authorized to identify the persons under oath, and

a certificate may be given by the minister on request. Generally speaking, there is no formal affidavit from the parties required, except at the discretion of the civil registrating officer. Then, too, the place of licensure varies in different states. In some cases it is procured in the place of the bride's residence; in others, in the place of marriage; in others, where either lives. And the license is also returnable in some states not even to the place of issue.

Again, no definite term of residence is required for marriage in most of the states, and even no interval between the certificate and celebration, except in Maine and Wisconsin, where five days' interval is required, and in New Jersey, where a small delay is required for nonresidents. Dr. Howard finds that "in no instance has any definite law yet been made to prevent the clandestine marriage, outside the state, of residents who thus seek to evade the requirements of their own laws." The converse is notoriously true that divorces granted in one state are valid in others, even though divorce laws are dissimilar. But the laxity of the marriage law is less often dwelt upon, and yet could be more easily regulated, and is one of the most potent forces in fostering hasty marriages, which oftenest lead to divorce. These variant state laws as to the ceremony are a fruitful source of clandestine marriages, making several "May Fairs" and "Gretna Greens" in this country, to the scandal of the church and the disgrace of the ministry, such as Aberdeen, Ohio; Greenwich, Conn.; and St. Joseph, Michigan.

Again, nowhere, excepting by the new law for Porto Rico, is there any adequate provision of notice for the filing or trial of objections to proposed marriages.

Again, in the matter of witnesses to a marriage, the highest authority tells us that "only 19 out of the 53 states and territories expressly require the presence at the ceremony of even one witness, while in a few cases the statutes appear to take their presence for granted, without statute."

Once more, marriage is complicated by the variant laws as to prohibited degrees. Avoiding the innumerable shades of consanguinity of the earlier Roman Catholic laws, yet there are statutes forbidding the marriage of first cousins in New Hamp-

shire, Illinois, Kansas, Wyoming, the two Dakotas, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Oregon. In Connecticut a man could not marry a deceased wife's sister till 1793, and a deceased brother's wife till 1816. In all New England states, marriage with a step-parent is forbidden; and in all New England states except Connecticut a man cannot marry his mother-in-law. In the southern states generally, marriage between white and colored parties is invalid, but in Indiana and Maine also such marriages are illegal by statute. In Michigan, on the contrary, such marriages are legal by statute, and in other states presumably legal without statute. Bigamy is void or voidable by statute in nearly all the states except Connecticut, where the laws are silent. Physical incapacity voids a marriage in Vermont, and idiocy in Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island. Connecticut was the first state to prevent the marriage of an epileptic under the age of 45, followed lately by Kansas and Minnesota. Michigan forbids the marriage of one affected by certain forms of syphilis, forcing physicians to testify if called, and requiring examination of proposed parties if demanded.

Once more, while the age below which parental consent must be obtained is quite generally fixed at 21 and 18, yet the other sort of "age of consent," below which a person may not be responsible for sexual vice, designed to protect young women, has been variant and cruel to the last degree. Up to 1885, when Mr. Stead made his disclosures about vice in London, 12 years was the common law age of consent in most of our states. After these disclosures it was raised to 16 in England, and it has been raised in this country in many states. In Delaware it had been as low as 7 years, and in Massachusetts as low as 10; but it has been raised in 12 states to 18, in 22 to 16, one still keeping it at 10.

But one of the chief obstacles in the way of securing a proper social control of marriage is the difference of view regarding the validity of so-called common law marriages, *i. e.*, marriage by habitual living together without following legal requirements. It is not generally known that most of our marriage statutes are directory and not mandatory. Just as in earlier Roman Catholic history, so now, statute laws find the same difficulty between validity and legality. In 1809 Chancellor Kent made his famous

argument upholding the validity of common law marriages. This judgment held in New York until 1901. This new statute of New York is noteworthy, for self-marriage and common law cohabitation had been recognized in that state up to two years ago. The view of Chancellor Kent was accepted by Justice Reeve of Connecticut, by Judge Greenleaf, and by Judge Cooley of Michigan. Judicial decisions have practically made these marriages valid in nine other states, where no statutes exist to the contrary. But the two eminent jurists, Parsons and Cook, have taken strong views to the contrary. A few states have a nullifying clause declaring by statute such marriages invalid. Without enumerating the states, we find that different commonwealths are thus subject to two utterly different theories in judicial decisions, some holding that common law marriages are valid, whatever the statute (and this position has more than once received the sanction of the United States Supreme Court); others holding that statute requiring certain marriage procedure supersedes the common law, even if it does not nominally nullify it. This latter position is taken by many states — notably Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, and six southern and five middle states. But California, Utah, New York, and Porto Rico have gone further and nullified common law by statute. The present status of this century-long controversy is this: 35 states leave this matter practically an open question; 18 have repudiated or are soon likely to legislate against the common law marriage, some by judicial decree and some by statute. The New York and Porto Rico procedures are most recent and notable. It is evident that, upon the whole, history supports the legal decisions validating such marriages, and that the only course to uproot them is by mandatory statute or by express nullification.

The purpose of this essay is to show what conflicting historical theories and practices lie back of this vital function which today is so largely in the hands of the ministry. The whole subject of divorce is a separate and yet correlate study, capable of a similar historical treatment. But the limits of this paper oblige us to leave a vital half of the topic untouched. But the subject of divorce is more familiar than that of marriage, because so often discussed today. And yet divorce is only one of the things

affecting marriage, and at its latter end, while we overlook many other causes which we have been considering, which in theory, custom, and statute affect it chiefly in its inception, where the church and the ministry have more influence.

We have seen that church and state, together or separately, have both been grappling with the problems of marriage. It is evident that the social control of marriage under the Roman Catholic theory of sacrament and indissolubility has been a difficult thing. We know also into what riot of marriage procedure and divorce alike the social control of Protestant America has run. But whatever the statute, we maintain that the Christian church has an immense responsibility in its highest standards of marriage, both in theory and practice, and so incidentally in its control of divorce, certainly within its own communion, and in its testimony as to whom its officers shall or shall not marry. We hold that for members of the Christian church, our standard must be, as far as we are concerned, the spirit and letter of Christ's words, based upon his personal authority. This position, we think, is exegetically unmistakable as to the strictness of our Lord's teaching on divorce, and so on permissible marriage. Great but slow progress, both on marriage and divorce, has been made, and Christian public opinion is forming fast of late on these vital issues. But after all, while America leads the world, with the exception of Japan, in the frequency, lightness, and proportion of divorce, yet it also leads the world, without exception, in the carelessness, variety, and multiform procedure in marriage. The evils of divorce are tremendous; but back of that evil lies the nearer, more pressing, and to us more responsible and controllable evil of lax theory and official carelessness in the marriage bond and ceremony. Till church and state better guard the inception of the sacred compact, they cannot hope to deal wisely and effectively with the easy and frequent breaking of vows so lightly taken.

Alexander Ross Merriam.

*Hartford, Conn.*

# Book Reviews.

It might be difficult to name any one more competent than Bishop Ryle to advise the church as to the Higher Criticism. His volume *On Holy Scripture and Criticism* is not a formal treatise on the subject of criticism, but simply a collection of addresses delivered at different times during the past fifteen years. Together they present a simple, manly defense of Old Testament criticism in its general aspects. Bishop Ryle pleads as one who knows his subject thoroughly and also as one whose reverence for the Bible is sincere and deep. To those familiar with modern Biblical study this book says nothing new. To others who may be troubled over these newer views the words of Bishop Ryle may be commended as sound and helpful. (Macmillan, pp. 187. $1.75.) E. E. N.

*What is the Bible?* Mr. J. A. Ruth attempts to tell us in a little volume of less than two hundred pages. But these pages are occupied chiefly in telling us what the Bible is not. He does indeed spare two pages for the positive side of the great teachings of the prophets concerning Jehovah. For the rest the book tells us that the Bible is not the Word of God in any special sense, that it is full of contradictions, that there are no real prophecies, that the whole history and idea of the Canon is full of error and contradiction, and that the simple solution of the whole matter is just to "stop teaching error and teach only truth." We can only wonder why the author thinks the great body of Christian ministers and teachers are either ignorant or dishonest in regard to the difficulties, problems, and duties he mentions. The book is well meant, but altogether warped and prejudiced, dealing to a great extent with matters about which the author evidently knows very little. (Open Court Co., pp. 172. 75 cts.) E. E. N.

Every earnest effort to impress the Bible story upon young minds in a helpful way should receive only encouragement. The old-fashioned way was that of reading the Bible itself to children, or getting them to read it for themselves, and many still think that no better way has yet been discovered. Others would resort to a paraphrase of the Bible, and in favor of such a method much may be said. Prof. Mary W. Bronson of the Pennsylvania College for Women is the author of such a paraphrase. The first volume of her *The Old Testament Story* covers the Patriarchal Age. For ourselves we must confess, after reading this revised and edited Genesis, that we prefer the Bible just as it is. Putting aside such a merely individual preference we commend this book as likely to be of great help where children of a certain age, disposition, and (lack of) previous training are to be dealt with. If children for one reason or other fail to get the Bible itself, this may prove of service in leading them to the Bible. (Wilde, pp. 106. 75 cts.) E. E. N.

The series of Bible Class Primers, edited by Principal Salmond of Aberdeen, is on the whole a most excellent series of little handbooks. The number recently added, entitled *Eli, Samuel, and Saul, a Transition Chapter in Israelitish History* falls somewhat below the standard. It fails to throw light on the rather intricate and perplexing record of I Samuel, using the Biblical material more as a basis for moralizing than as a source for history. A modern Bible class needs to be helped to solve the puzzles of the record as it stands and a Bible Class Primer should be helpful in these respects as well as in others. This little book might have been more scientific in its method and still just as fruitful in moral suggestiveness. (Imported by Scribners, pp. 104. 20 cts. net.) E. E. N.

There is something of Matthew Arnold's light-hearted tackling of Isaiah in Professor Genung's excursions into Hebrew exegesis. The profane used to say that Job with the end of his book was not at the end of his troubles; he had still to take his chances with the commentators. Professor Genung would probably object to both "exegesis" and "commentator," cumbrous and learned words belonging to a dry-as-dust method. Yet, whatever he may urge in favor of a "constructive" as opposed to a "critical" mode of approach to a work of literature, there is no getting away from the necessity of reading, accurately rendering, and clearly explaining its text. Some linguistic knowledge is needed as well as æsthetic feeling and philosophic grasp. It is a pity, then, that these necessities have to be emphasized in speaking of his *Words of Koheleth.* They are "translated anew, divided according to their logical cleavage, and accompanied with a study of their literary and spiritual values and a running commentary." The elements thus stated vary in value and improve steadily as they recede from the text. Thus it would have been much better for Professor Genung's credit as a Hebraist if he had dropped all idea of retranslating — to which, to speak frankly, he is evidently unequal — and had used as a basis some reputed English version or, perhaps better, have turned into English the German version of the elder Delitzsch, a master of this type of Hebrew. As it is, he will give great delight to the "critics" whom he scores. Siegfried, were Siegfried still with us, would rejoice that his enemy *had* written a book, which, still better, was a translation. This weakness extends of necessity into the commentary on the side which looks to the text. On the side of free meditation and suggestive quotation and parallel there are many passages full of point. Yet it is to Professor Genung's credit that in spite of his plain lack of Hebrew he has a feeling for that crisp elegance of Qoheleth's style which charmed Renan. Of the introductory study it must be confessed that it would be much better and clearer if it were a quarter of its length. Fortunately it is laced down the side with little inset abstracts which make much skipping possible. But apart from this question of bulk the study is really good. The spirit of Qoheleth has been caught, and his broad attitudes towards the world. His gospel of work and his determination to take life, use it, and make the best of it are well developed, if with a somewhat too modern tone. Professor Genung, unfortunately, holds to "eternity" in the heart of man, and does not see, as

some are coming to do now, that it is an ordinary error for "labor" — he'āmāl. Perhaps still more unfortunately he clings to "Remember thy creator." The context has not shown him that here it is "thy fountain," and that the idea is that of Proverbs v, 15-18. This has wide consequences; for the side of Qoheleth's thought which Professor Genung least understands is that looking towards God. That attitude which sees in God the oriental despot who must be studied, obeyed, and feared has remained sealed to him. Job had risen in rebelling against this conception and would have nothing of the Being whom it represented; Qoheleth saw it as clearly as Job and tells us to make the best of it. Finally, that the book is a single whole and no patchwork the present reviewer thoroughly agrees. But no perversity of exegesis can make viii, 10-14, rhyme. A gloss of some kind is hidden there, and the passage must be obelized. (Houghton, Mifflin, pp. xvi, 362. $1.25.) D. B. M.

Everyone interested in early English literature will welcome the publication of the *Anglo-Saxon version of the Gospels of Matthew and John* in handy form and withal most carefully edited. The volume containing the Gospel of John is well annotated and furnished with a glossary. Prof. James W. Bright of Johns Hopkins University, the editor, is to be complimented on the scholarly character of his work. These neat little volumes should find their way into many private libraries. (Heath & Co., John, pp. xxxix, 260, 60 cts.; Matthew, pp. 147, 40 cts.) E. E. N.

A. C. Gaebelein has attempted to expound the *Gospel of Matthew* (1) in the interests of a crusade against higher criticism and a championship of an allegorical interpretation. His point of departure is the firm conviction that this Gospel was the first written of all the Gospels, as such contains the beginnings of the new dispensation and is so thoroughly based on what he calls "the dispensational truths concerning the Jews, the Gentiles, and the Church of God," that no one however "learned or devoted" who does not hold these truths can expect to understand it.

From this it is not difficult to understand that the contents of the Gospel are portrayed, not only in a spirit of overstrained typology, but that this typology is made to do constant service for the propaganda of an exaggerated millenarianism.

The present book is designated Vol. I, and extends to Ch. xiii of the Gospel. It might not be an overwhelming loss if Vol. II were long delayed — or never issued.

In a wholly different spirit Professor W. G. Jordan of Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, has given us an exposition of *Paul's Gospel to the Philippians* (2). He is not in sympathy with the over-subjective criticism represented by the advanced scholars of the Encyclopædia Biblica, but he recognizes that no criticism can commend itself to scholarship that is not regulated by the laws of critical science, and that even a homiletical exposition such as he attempts in his book must have beneath it a criticism that is from this point of view sound and true. What he has done has been done in the belief that "the one constant need of the ministry and the church is the revival and continuance of intelligent expository preaching."

We quite agree with him and are not hesitant in the estimate of his work as a real contribution to the interpretation of the apostle's thought in this letter.

Naturally one's attention is attracted chiefly to the author's handling of the supremely personal third chapter of the Epistle (Chs. XVII-XXIV). There is not likely to be any disappointment to one who reads it thoughtfully — even less to one who goes over his treatment of the Christological parts of the much-debated second chapter (Chs. X-XVI). In both chapters he has done the apostle full justice and has placed his readers under obligation for much that is stimulating to the better spiritual things within them (²).

(¹) Gospel Publishing House, pp. 304. $1.00. (²) *The Philipian Gospel.* Revell, pp. 292. $1.25.) M. W. J.

Rev. J. C. Gray and Rev. C. S. Carey have prepared as a companion to *The Class and the Desk* (New Testament Series — Gospels and Acts), another volume under the same general title, but devoted to the Epistles. Both volumes constitute a manual for Sunday-school teachers and for preachers, and will doubtless prove of service to those who use them as helps to honest study of the Scriptures. (Am. Tract Society, pp. iv, 282. Price 50 cts.) M. W. J.

The manifold form under which the life of Christ may be treated is inexhaustible. Dr. John Smith has produced a readable book on *The Magnetism of Christ,* the same being the Duff Lectures on Evangelistic Theology, delivered in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen in 1893-4. Our author aims to give us a study of our Lord's missionary methods. After sketching the world in which Jesus came he describes the earliest movements of Christ's ministry, and then speaks of the distinctive method of Jesus. Lecture IV is devoted to the Magnetism of Christ, and the following to the lines of His aggressive activity. The subsequent lectures endeavor to bring out the aim, method, and manner of our Lord's work in the world. We frankly confess that the book is a disappointment. It lacks progress and definiteness of treatment. Dr. Smith is scarcely any farther along at the end of the sixth chapter than at the end of the second. He treats all phases of his subject in almost every chapter. We should prefer a more systematic and thoroughgoing handling of the sources. Our author does not seem to have carefully collated the sources before beginning his work. The spirit and aim of Dr. Smith are excellent, but he falls short in handling his theme. (Armstrong, pp. 336. $1.50).

E. K. M.

The *Ethical Teaching of Jesus,* from the pen of Dr. Briggs, is a characteristic work. It is mostly a mass of details. It is handled in a lifeless sort of way. There is a curious mingling of liberty and reverence in handling Scripture. The treatise is esteemed by its author as a great boon. One of its most prevalent marks is assertiveness. Scripture is molded over into strophic forms. Conjectural textual emendation is lavishly indulged; in thirty-five instances cited passages are introduced by the statement that their original form was "probably" or "doubtless," or

"somewhat" as follows. Contemporary literature, excepting books by the author himself, is all but totally ignored. Only Resch and Grenfell and Hunt have the honor of any mention.

Touching its most important contribution in the author's view, it seems strange to observe that it interprets the most elevated and essential teaching of Jesus to be such a view of Love as to deem it "free," "supererogatory," a "counsel of perfection." One wonders whether Dr. Briggs would apply these terms to the love of Christ. Then one wonders how Dr. Briggs conceives a disciple's love to be related to his Lord's. And, finally, one wonders how Dr. Briggs explains in this connection the *argument* for forgiveness in Luke 11:4. (Scribner, pp. 293. $1.50 net.)

C. S. B.

To chronicle the appearance of a book and the death of the author is always a melancholy task. The death of Professor Goodspeed is a loss to American historical scholarship, — a loss which is all the more evident upon the examination of his *History of the Ancient World.* The book was prepared more especially for high schools and academies, but it will be useful as a hand book to the general reader. Our author divides his subject into three great heads: The Eastern Empires, the Greek Empires, and the Empire of Rome. The first division is rather scantily treated, covering but sixty pages. However, the treatment is clear and the maps and helps numerous, so that one gets a definite conception of the trend of things in each country brought under survey. Some 250 pages are devoted to the Greek Empires, and this portion of the book is very suggestive in its method of treatment. The maps and charts and cuts add greatly to the elucidation of the history. The Empire of Rome is sketched from B.C. 200 to the time of Charlemagne. Our author shows himself even more at home in this field than in Grecian history. We would commend the work as an admirable sketch of the history of the ancient world. A good bibliography, and notes on the illustrations, together with a full index, complete the volume. (Scribner, pp. 483. $1.50 net.) E. K. M.

E. K. M.

A new work from the pen of Professor Ramsay is always welcome. His *Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia* is doubly so. The subject is in many respects an obscure one, and no man is better fitted to treat it than Professor Ramsay. The first five chapters treat of writing, travel, letters among the early Christians, including the Letters to the Seven Churches and their relation to contemporary Christian books. Professor Ramsay then discusses the symbolism of the Seven Letters, the authority of the author, and the education of St. John. He next takes up the question of the Flavian persecution, the Asian imperial religion, and the Greek and Asiatic spirit prevailing in the West Asian cities. This indicates our author's approach to his main subject. After the discussion of certain other points, he deals with Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, and the other Seven Churches, giving two chapters to each city and church. The archæological and historical matter contained in this part of the book, as well as in the earlier chapters, is of great interest and value. Dr. Ramsay does not allow himself to get tangled up in his effort to interpret the Book of

Revelations. He keeps a well-balanced mind. The book "neither found him crazy, nor made him so." We commend the volume most highly for its scholarship and its practical usefulness. (Armstrong, pp. 446. $3.50 net.) E. K. M.

The geography of the Holy Land is of perennial interest and just now is a subject of frequent treatment. The time, however, is passed by for the publication of anything but a book that is up-to-date. The *Historical Geography of Bible Lands* by John B. Calkin falls far short of present-day scholarship. One has only to turn to the maps to discover this fact. The plan is an ambitious one, covering not only Palestine proper, but all Syria, as well as Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome. The volume is supplemented also by a historic outline from Abraham to the Apostle Paul. The treatment in this part of the work is along traditional lines, and the part descriptive of the geography of the various lands is likewise defective. The volume may well be placed on the shelf as already antiquated. (Westminster Press. $1.00 net.) E. K. M.

Mr. H. Valentine Geere has enjoyed special opportunities for studying life in the Orient. In 1895 he was appointed surveyor on the staff of the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. He proceeded at once to Baghdad and thence to the ruins of Nippur; but almost immediately after his arrival hostilities broke out among the Arabs which forced Mr. Haynes, the director of the expedition, to abandon excavation for the present. Mr. Geere then joined Prof. Flinders Petrie in Egypt and assisted him in his excavations during the years 1896 and 1897. In 1898 the University of Pennsylvania again began operations at Nippur, and Mr. Geere was once more associated with the staff. He was taken down with typhoid fever on his arrival at Baghdad, but subsequently was able to work with the expedition. His book entitled *By Nile and Euphrates* is a record of his adventures and experiences and of the discoveries made in Egypt and Babylonia during the four years from 1895 to 1898. The book is well written, and gives a vivid conception of life in Babylonia and Egypt and of the daily experiences of the explorer in these countries. The contrast between the peaceful and settled conditions in Egypt and the disturbed and dangerous conditions in Babylonia brings out in the clearest way the beneficial effects of British rule in Egypt. In Egypt there is no difficulty in getting permission to dig; no trouble with government officials; no danger of attack from the natives; and the result is that exploration in that country has been reduced to a fine art. In Babylonia, on the other hand, the would-be explorer must work for years in order to get a firman from the Turkish government, is exposed to constant treachery and extortion on the part of officials, and is in danger of his life from the attacks of the wandering Bedawin. The result is that Babylonian exploration has not been reduced to any such system and has not yielded such satisfactory results as work that has been carried on in Egypt. This book is to be recommended both as an unusually interesting narrative of travel and as a scientific description of modern methods of exploration. (Imported by Scribner, pp. 355. $3.50 net) L. B. P.

The title of Professor George A. Barton's *Year's Wandering in Bible Lands* is rather misleading. The book consists of a sketch of an Oriental trip, starting from Montreal and going via Oxford, Paris, Vienna, Constantinople, Athens, etc. From Corinth Dr. Barton goes to Asia Minor, thence to Damascus, Baalbec, and enters Palestine at Jaffa. A week in Jerusalem, with trips to Bethlehem, Hebron, the Jordan, and beyond, as well as to Samaria and Galilee, comprises the wanderings in Biblical lands. The remainder of the book describes a voyage to Cairo, Luxor, and Alexandria, and the return home via Naples, Pompeii, Rome, Florence, Venice, Milan, Switzerland, and Boston. The volume consists of letters descriptive of travels and experiences written to friends at home. It need not be said that Dr. Barton is a careful observer, and records his experiences and observations in an interesting and accurate manner. The book is a good example of its class, is furnished with numerous cuts, and will be found both entertaining and instructive. (Ferris & Leach, Phila., pp. 276. $2.00 net.) E. K. M

*English Church History from the Death of Archbishop Parker to the Death of King Charles I* is the subject of four lectures by Rev. Alfred Plummer. The titles of the lectures are: I. Counter-Reformation and Ultra-Reformation. II. The Wise Fool in Church and State. III. Development of Despotism in Church and State. IV. Downfall of Episcopacy and Monarchy. These lectures were delivered before different popular audiences and do not attempt to add anything to our knowledge of the subjects treated. They are written from the standpoint of an English Church-man who regards the Puritan Movement as an Ultra-Reformation and therefore a mistake. The conception of Puritanism throughout the work is the ordinary but erroneous one that it was narrow and intolerant and nothing else. There is no appreciation of the value of Calvinism. Emphasis is laid on its more repellant features. Charles I was guilty of many mistakes, but he died as "the martyr of the people." The book is an interesting presentation of the history of an important period by one who regards the English Established Church as desirable. (Imported by Scribner, pp. X, 179. $1.00 net.) C. M. G.

Pollard's *Thomas Cranmer* in the "Heroes of the Reformation" Series is a careful study from the sources, especially the English state papers of the period. Professor Pollard was on familiar ground when he wrote the book because of his previous work in English History in this same period. It is not only a good life of Cranmer, but presents the movement, as a whole, in which Cranmer stands next to Henry VIII. Cranmer did not display the heroic qualities of Ridley and Latimer, but was more human in his shrinking from pain and death. His closing hours brought out his latent heroism. His great influence on the future of the English Church is well presented in this work. It is one of the best books in a valuable series. (Putnam, pp. xv, 399.) C. M. G.

As this year is the quadricentennial of the birth of John Knox, any work relating to Presbyterianism is of interest. Beveridge's *A Short History of the Westminster Assembly* is timely also because of present

conditions in Scotland. It is a careful study of the most important religious gathering of the seventeenth century. The author in ten well written chapters gives us an interesting and scholarly presentation of the history of the period and of the Assembly. He makes it clear that the men who composed the Assembly were men of high grade. There is also a careful analysis of the work accomplished. The appendix contains several important documents. It is altogether a commendable work. (Imported by Scribner, pp. xiv, 169. $1.00 net.) C. M. G.

Mr. Robert E. Speer's two-volume work on *Missions and Modern History* is a valuable addition both to the literature of Missions and of History. The scope of the two volumes is indicated by the titles of the chapters. I. The Tai-ping Rebellion. II. The Indian Mutiny. III. The Religion of the Bab. IV. The Emancipation of Latin America. V. The Development of Africa. VI. The Reform Movement in Hinduism. VII. The Tong Hak Insurrection. VIII. The Transformation of Japan. IX. The Armenian Massacres. X. The Going of the Spaniard. XI. The Boxer Uprising. XII. The Coming of the Slav. XIII. Missions and the World Movement. These subjects are some with which there is little familiarity, but our increasing contact with the East makes a knowledge of them desirable. They are all topics of present interest and a study of these chapters will make clear many points which at present are puzzling to those who are interested in Oriental affairs. They present a view of world-wide movements. They give us an illustration of the value and need of missionary work. In them we see some of the problems which are before the missionary. Some of these subjects were first presented in an abbreviated form at various institutions of learning. All who had the good fortune to hear them will be glad to have them now in a permanent form. They are written in Mr. Speer's earnest and convincing style, and give evidence of much research and study. We hope for other volumes of the same kind. (Revell, pp. 714. $4.00 net.) C. M. G.

Two books on Japan which may be read together with great advantage are Prof. G. W. Knox's *Japanese Life in Town and Country* (1) and Dr. W. E. Griffis's *Dux Christus* (2). Dr. Griffis has far the advantage in length and priority of residence in Japan, and his statements and descriptions have a more personal basis than those of Prof. Knox. He can truly say of the early days, *Quorum pars magna fui.* On the other hand, his object, to give an outline study of Japan for mission courses and his somewhat rapid style betray him from time to time into inadvertencies. Thus, on page 30, the Ainus are said to be "probably a fragment of the Aryan or Caucasian race," and "white men"; on page 33, however, "they are kinsmen by blood, ideas, customs, and worship" with the ancient Japanese. Again, on pages 73 ff. the story of Commodore Perry's squadron, "the peaceful armada" is told; but there is no word of the threats and display of overwhelming force with which this peaceful armada accomplished its object. Nevertheless, all in all, his book is most full, suggestive, and readable. There are good chronological tables, bibliographies, and illustrative extracts. Prof. Knox's book is written by a returned missionary, but not as a mission manual. Yet in its tone and

spirit it admirably complements Dr. Griffis's more didactic treatment. Through wider space, and also through a certain broader, more appreciative attitude, the people, as a people, in all its strength and weakness is "staged" with admirable art. What they feel and think, too, in religion and philosophy is made more real. There is no blinking of the disagreeable, the unhealthy or the degraded, but there is a true perception of them as parts in a whole, of how they came and what purpose they serve. The nineteen illustrations are good, but the map is only fair. ([1]) Putnam, pp. xiv, 276. $1.20. ([2]) Macmillan, pp. xiv, 296. 50 cts.)

D. B. M.

Mr. Compton's *Indian Life in Town and Country* is the first volume in a series on "Our Asiatic Neighbors" under the general editorship of William H. Dawson. The plan of this series is the same as that of the series entitled "Our European Neighbors," namely: to give a brief, popular account of the leading characteristics of life in different countries of the world. Most of the books on life in India come from the hands of missionaries, and while they are accurate in their information, they are apt to disclose a somewhat one-sided point of view. Mr. Compton has lived many years in the country as a tea-cultivator; he has had all the experience of a missionary, but under different circumstances, so that his book presents much that is not found in the ordinary descriptions of Indian life. Two-thirds of the volume are devoted to the life of the natives and the remaining third to the life of the European residents. The method of treatment is to give a series of sketches of different kinds of people. There is no logical classification of material, and the discussion is by no means exhaustive. The subjects selected, however, are characteristic, and they are handled with an insight and cleverness that is unusual. Such familiar subjects as caste, ryots, native officials, and the status of women, receive a new interest under Mr. Compton's hand. He is a brilliant writer, and his book is one of the most readable that I have met in a long time. When I had once taken it up I was not able to lay it down until I had finished it. On almost all points the author's judgment is sound, but it is open to question whether his opinion of the worthlessness of higher education for natives is sustained by the facts. The account of European life in India is quite as interesting as that of native life. The description of the grades of English society as castes, the civil service representing the Brahmins, the military, the warrior caste, the mercantile classes representing the laboring caste, and the half-European half-native population representing the pariahs, affords opportunity for many amusing parallels, and serves to bring out the fact that even western civilization is not so free as it generally supposes from the faults that it detects in eastern civilization. (Putnam, pp. 271. $1.20 net.)

L. B. P.

Bishop *Edwin Wallace Parker* was one of the leading lights in the Methodist church. He was born in Vermont and in early life went out as a missionary to India, where he remained 41 years in the service, ultimately being raised to the position of Missionary Bishop of southern Asia. The story of his life has many interesting elements. His early religious experiences and conversion are typical of the spiritual life of

Methodism in the last generation. His missionary methods are also representative of a particular period in the history of the evangelization of India. He was one of the first who attempted the establishment of Christian villages in order to meet the problem produced by the expulsion of converts from their castes. His failures brought much useful experience to the Protestant churches in India. One gains the impression that Dr. Parker was a gifted and devoted man, and that in other hands his biography might have been interesting; but the author, Mr. J. H. Messmore, of this memoir lacks the ability to select important facts and to give picturesqueness to his narrative. The result is that, while the book contains much useful information, it is dull reading. This is the more to be regretted as it is intended to serve as a missionary text-book for the Epworth League. It is to be feared that the young people of the Methodist church will not be attracted to the missionary life by this presentation. (Eaton & Mains, pp. 333. $1.00 net.) L. B. P.

Harvard University has through the Ingersoll Lectures of Professors James and Royce expressed the opinion of two members of its philosophical faculty on the subject of Immortality, and now their colleague, Professor Hugo Münsterberg, gives us a little booklet *The Eternal Life*. A man's opinions on immortality must contain an epitome of his philosophical system. It is this that gives to Professor Münsterberg's book its quite extraordinary interest. It is the same fact that makes discussion of it impossible in a narrow compass. The work exhibits admirably a most interesting phase of the Teleological Monism which is so characteristic of current philosophical speculation. In his result he asserts that we are immortal; not as individuals, but as parts of the Absolute. This follows from the non-reality of time, space, and causality. Reality is an eternal now, to be interpreted in terms of eternal value. Objects have value, and hence reality, only as they are the realization of purposes. "The identity of purpose and realization expresses the whole significance of the will, and as we are will, only identity in the world can have for us absolute value" (p. 52). Accordingly we see that we must not think of eternal life in terms of time. "No endless duration is our goal, but complete repose in the perfect satisfaction which the will finds when it has reached the significance, the influence, and the value at which it is aiming" (p. 58). "A personality which has found complete satisfaction of its aims has no further possible further intention, and it would be meaningless to attach to it externally a supplement of individual existence" (p. 63). Some would immediately cry Pantheism! others Nirvana! Both might be right. But if so the application of the epithets of historical classification does little to really aid us in the interpretation of the thought of today. (Houghton, Mifflin, pp. 72. 85 cts. net.) A. L. G.

Rev. David Purves in his *Life Everlasting* gives us some interesting "Studies in the Subject of the Future." The book is divided into four parts, the first bearing the caption The Life Everlasting; the second, The Resurrection; the third, The Future Life; the fourth, Immortality in Literature. The first after speaking briefly of the life everlasting as foreshadowed in the Old Testament would show that it is brought to light

by Christ and rests on the resurrection of Christ. The second part would unfold the Christian doctrine of the resurrection, show its relation to death, and enforce its ethical significance. The third part treats successively of the victory of faith, hope, and love which the Future life holds. And the last touches on the attitudes of science, philosophy, and poetry. The book is not intended for the scholar, though it is not unscholarly. Its purpose is preëminently practical, its general attitude of mind is sane, it does not try to demonstrate the undemonstrable. Its purpose is not to overwhelm criticism, but to strengthen faith. It is a book that many ministers might well be glad to put in the hands of some whose distant horizon seemed clouded. It is one more illustration of the reawakened interest in the theme. (Imported by Scribner, pp. x, 265. $1.50 net.) A. L. G.

The "Crown Theological Library" has recently added some interesting volumes to its list. They represent on the whole what would be called the liberal tendency in current religious thought and opinion. M. J. Reville of the University of Paris, the well-known student of Comparative Religion, writes on *Liberal Christianity, Its Origin, Nature, and Mission.* The book is intellectually enthusiastic, religiously cold. It comes out of the agony of the situation in France, as does the other book to be noticed soon. The extreme hostility of the school and the church is frank and bitter. The only hope M. Reville and his class believe lies in the acceptance as Christianity of that which they call the Gospel of Jesus. This they distinguish sharply from the Gospel of Paul or John, of Calvin or of Bonnet (p. 203). This Gospel is: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul and thy neighbor as thyself." Over against the Roman church and "Catholicising orthodoxy" "Liberal Protestants continue before all else to lay stress upon the historical authority of the Bible." This remarkable statement is balanced by another, "in their own religious and moral life they staunchly uphold the sovereign authority of reason and conscience" (p. 28). They hold that the New Testament consists mainly of speculations about the person of Jesus which are baseless, useless, and superstitious. The inner substance of the Gospel for them is the spirit of Christ. Jesus was misled, of course, by many of the beliefs of his day which He retained; but His own religious attitude of love to God and love to man comes out clearly. That is Christianity in its essence. The rest is speculation and mythology. Not much more of constructive value is in the book, though endeavors are made to show that this "religion" is true to and based on experience, and also to describe its social value. One cannot but wonder how M. Reville or any one else would have fared in the first century if he had set forth this "substance" as the essence of the Gospel. If Jesus never announced it, what was He more than others? If He *fulfilled* His own law, who was He? For from the foundation of the world no one had been found, or has been found since, to claim that he had faultlessly obeyed that law. His spirit only perfectly loved God and man, *and knew it.* But if that is so, then Jesus is more than His law, and His place in our faith is not that tottering throne of so-called Liberal Protestantism, but the throne on which Paul and John saw him. Of course M. Reville hates miracles: *Cela va sans dire.* (Putnam, pp. 228. $1.25 net.) W. D. M.

Two works of the late Auguste Sabatier, the eminent Dean of the Protestant Theological Faculty in the University of Paris, are included in one volume. The first of them is on *The Doctrine of the Atonement.* In this an account is given of the "historical evolution" of that great Christian doctrine. The Biblical conceptions underlying it are described, and the principal phases of the ecclesiastical briefly stated. The opening sentence reads: "In the Christian consciousness, the forgiveness of sins and the death of Christ are intimately and absolutely related." After the review of the history of this fact in Christian thought, Sabatier is "led to confess our inability to answer" the problem. He accepts the fact stated above, as to its theory he is an agnostic. The second work is entitled *Religion and Modern Culture* and was delivered as an address before the Religious Science Congress in Stockholm in 1897. The most impressive part of it is the appalling picture it gives of the conflict between the educated men of France and the church. If it is true, and few can know better than Sabatier, then "appalling" is the only word we can apply to it. Sabatier's reconciliation is interesting in that he seeks a "mutual penetration of religion and culture." How this is to be done he tells in an enthusiastic manner. Anything Sabatier writes is worth reading. Probably his intellectual creed was not far from that of Reville's Liberal Protestantism. But his spirit was warm, his view of Christ's person reverent, and the impression made by his thought sometimes not far from evangelical. (Putnam, pp. 228. $1.25.) W. D. M.

Among recent volumes of sermons none are more significant than those written by Mr. W. R. Inge of Hertford College, Oxford, and Canon H. Hensley Henson of Westminster, London. These preachers are both aware that the members of our churches, especially in great centers of culture, are most sensitive to the intellectual problems with which the Christian Faith is beset. It is a mistake to suppose that the Faith is in a position of unique danger or that in our day alone it has been hard to accept its doctrines. From the beginning and throughout its history the weapons of attack have been forged with the hammers of unbelief upon the anvil of intellect. Today we have today's problems and solutions, today's perplexities and triumphs. Mr. Inge entitles his volume *Faith and Knowledge* (1), and in his preface explains why he does so. He disapproves, and rightly, of the tendency to depreciate the place and function of reason in the religious life. In Christian experience knowledge is real. He will not consent to the idea that science and philosophy run along certain lines, while faith, because we *will* have its objects and its benefits, maintains a separate life. The sermons themselves vary widely in subject and in value. A few are so slight that it is hard to see why they were included; such is the sixth, on Subjection and Independence, a great subject which is merely skimmed. But the majority of these sermons are strong, beautiful, and inspiring. They deal alike with great doctrines and great experiences, as one who is at once a scholar, a thinker, and a sincere Christian alone can do. Canon Henson's volume is entitled *The Value of the Bible and Other Sermons* (2), is prefaced by a long letter to the Bishop of London. The book is born in the midst of keen controversy. Mr. Henson has brought himself into conflict with

many of the leading authorities of the Church of England by outspoken articles on the Bible and miracles, which appeared in "The Contemporary Review" and "The Hibbert Journal." His position in these articles was such as to raise the question at once, whether he has a right to remain in that church as an honest subscriber to its articles. This letter is a spirited and interesting defense of his difficult position. His method is in the main to show that other high-placed dignitaries of his church have used very freely the critical method in their dealings with Scripture. The main contents themselves are divided into three groups, each containing seven sermons. The first group deal with the Bible and the true attitude of intelligent believers towards it. Its supreme place in the Christian life is firmly and clearly expounded, while the historical method of studying it is also described and justified. The fifth sermon, on St. Luke's Prologue — The Charter of Criticism, is an admirable statement of the case. But why do men of the Christian faith persist in using the irritating and inadequate term "criticism"? Half the battle would be won if they would abandon that term and speak always of "the historical method." This is the true description of the thing, the other is full of false suggestions. If Mr. Henson had said that St. Luke's Prologue is the charter of the Historical Method, the full value of all he contends for would be at once conveyed, and no intelligent reader could possibly object. The second group of sermons deal with various aspects of the argument for Christianity, and the third group gives us a series of studies in the story of the Gospels. It is a volume full of life, of knowledge, of faith. (1) Imported by Scribner, pp. viii, 292. $1.50 net. (2) Macmillan, pp. xxxii, 330. $1.75 net.) W. D. M.

A brief earnest study of Pessimism is offered by Prof. Geo. T. Knight of Tufts College Divinity School under the title, *The Goodness of God.* In fewest possible words the various Theodicies of human thinkers are sketched, and in such a manner as to merge into a slightly more elaborated statement of the position of modern scientific Pessimism. Throughout this sketch are sprinkled the various concessions of Christian thinkers which play into the hands of the Pessimist. This view is then "examined" in a way to set right the faulty affirmations of both sides. Then follows a really effective statement of the grounds for Optimism in the form of a shrewd, practical comparative study of the phases and values of pain and joy in existence. Thereupon follow painfully inadequate discussions and definitions of the theological terms and ideas involved — discussions that completely neutralize the value of the book. It all only shows how imperative is the need for clear views about the exhaustive range and meaning and value of those oft-named, but little pondered themes, the Christian Gospel and Christian Ethics. (The Universalist Pub. House, pp. 126. 50 cts.) C. S. B.

It is pleasant and assuring to see how earnest and sober-minded and painstaking Edward Howard Griggs is in his volume on *Moral Education.* It is a study in child-training. It tries to truly understand and define human nature and child nature, human life and child life. It aspires to plant this conception upon the broadest induction, so as to present well-

balanced definitions. Hereby it is hoped that sane counsel may be provided upon whatever is truly wholesome and effective in aids and methods in practical education. The effort is obviously sincere to cover all phases of the matter. The style scarcely ever soars. On the contrary it is notably humble. It is clear that the author has seen and heard things that have made his soul groan. One almost feels like saying that there is in the book the spirit of a prophet. And yet the whole effort fails of inspiration. The man seems to be writing with his gloves on. Spinoza and Dante and Plato are named repeatedly. So are Goethe and Emerson; and of course all the traditional pedagogues. Shakespeare also, and Browning and Hegel are golden names. These betoken the range and grade of thought. Thus the problem is discoursed upon. with cultured and seemly concern. There are twenty-five chapters. Not till the twenty-fifth is religion approached. And there one finds no vision of any altar, no glow of any fire. Christ is alluded to but twice in the book; and each allusion is entirely subordinate and incidental. There is an elaborate annotated bibliography. (N. Y.: B. W. Hueloch, pp. 352. $2.00 net.)

C. S. B.

The *History of Preaching* has relatively received scant treatment not only by English but foreign writers. Christlieb, who has written a valuable article in Herzog's Encyclopædia, despairs of the possibility of an "all-round, satisfying, comprehensive history, because no one is likely to have the capacity or leisure for so vast an undertaking." Abbe Bouchard considers it unnecessary, as it would really be a history of the progress of Christianity. The work of Paniel is chiefly concerned with the early history. Ker spends most of his space in discussing the German pulpit. Richard Rothe came nearer a comprehensive survey. Dr. Broadus has given us a brief sketch of the general outline of periods and personalities, and Dr. Pattison has done the same, within larger compass. This need of a larger and more scientific treatment has long been felt. There has just appeared the first volume of such an attempt by a pupil of Dr. Broadus, Professsor C. E. Dargan of the Louisville Seminary. The scope of his prospectus includes three volumes. 1st, The Early Periods, down to and including the Reformation; 2d, The Early Modern, down to the time of Wesley; 3d, The Later Modern, to the close of the XIX century.

This first volume is the only one as yet put forth. It is the result of years of work at home and abroad, using the libraries of Berlin, Leipzig, Bonn, Zurich, Geneva, and Paris. The result is altogether the most valuable treatise available, although this first volume will have to stand comparison with other works which have been more elaborate in this historic section than in later eras. The analysis of the different periods covered by this volume in their bearing upon the pulpit field are elaborate and scholarly. The amplitude of names mentioned is significant — but we feel that perspective is often sacrificed to fullness, and that a fuller discussion of the more notable men, like Chrysostom and Savonarola would atone for less minute cataloguing of minor preachers. In this respect, for example, his treatment of such men as Chrysostom compares unfavorably with that of Paniel. The same might be said as to the personality and art

of the great preachers as compared with their external conditions and influence: the former is somewhat disproportionately undeveloped. Warmth of coloring and personal flavor are somewhat sacrificed to the historical story. We expect, however, to find more of these desirable elements in the later volumes. But we welcome this book, and all it promises in the succeeding works, as a most important undertaking, and one which will call for recognition among scholars as a serious and valuable contribution to a vital and neglected field. We anticipate with great pleasure the succeeding volumes. (Armstrong, pp. 577. $1.75 net.)

A. R. M.

To those who had the privilege of hearing Dr. Purves, and more to those who had the greater privilege of knowing him, this volume of his sermons entitled *Faith and Life* will be most pleasant reading.

It will not be difficult for such, as they read, to bring back the form now passed away, to hear the now hushed voice, and to feel the charm of that personality which made the author so emphatically one of Presbyterianism's noted preachers.

The sermons have been well chosen by his friends and colleagues, who have edited the book; for Dr. Purves' power lay in his ability to present God and Christ to the heart and to urge religion upon the life; and around these topics of the heart relation to God and Christ and the life relation to religion the sermons largely have been gathered.

Were we to pass judgment on the discourses here laid before us, we would not hesitate to say that their strength lay in their ability to gather the readers around the Bible passage from which their thought is taken and then so to develop the thought as to make it search the readers' hearts for the life-verdict to be rendered by them on the truth — and that their weakness, at least in the sermons on the themes of God and Christ, lay in their tendency so to interweave with this development the creedal definition and theological analysis as to cloud the truth with the atmosphere of apologetics.

Perhaps this was the habit of that type of Presbyterianism to which the preacher was devotedly committed and only emphasizes the naturalness of his preaching; but at the same time it places the sermons below the level of what we find, say in the best of Campbell Morgan's addresses and leaves them far away from what is given us in the discourses of Simpson's "The Fact of Christ."

In the sermons on the practical life we feel more the vigor of the preacher's personality and can recognize how during his ministry in the Presbyterian stronghold of Pittsburg he drew young men in crowds to hear him. And yet we must confess that at times we are wearied by an over analysis of treatment and are surprised by an almost commonplace thought. Doubtless a great preacher is in his power when he is heard rather than when he is read. (Pres. Board of Pub., pp. xxx, 377. Price $1.25 net.)

M. W. J.

Dr. Campbell of the City Temple furnishes us a sample of modern preaching, in one of the most conspicuous pulpits of the world. The suggestions of his *Sermons Addressed to Individuals* would lead into a

fruitful discussion of many topics connected with modern preaching far beyond the scope of a brief notice of review. The significant things to note are the directness and simplicity of the speaker, the personal and almost conversational manner of address, the freedom of thought which might betray him to the Sanhedrim, but the fearlessness untrammelled, the freshness of illustrative material which seizes upon current events and literature, the impression that his sermons grow out of encounters with individuals and spring out of immediate experiences of his own and his people the last week. One of the most interesting features of this volume is the prefatory remarks to each sermon, telling exactly the genesis of the sermon in some query, some interview, some personal clinic of souls, some individual necessity. I recall but one other volume of sermons published in this way — Dr. Henry Clay Trumbull's recently published book of addresses and sermons. It is a well-known fact to most pastors that their sermons grow out of their parishes. The significant thing in this book is that a man in a great cosmopolitan church, always in the public eye, and in great demand in outside work, is yet so vitally a personal pastor, and draws his material right out of personal touch. For simple, direct, conversational, unconventional, earnest preaching, not sensational and yet strikingly fresh and cotemporary, we would commend this volume. Any man who is bound in scholastic bonds, bookish or over formal in his presentation of truth would get great help by standing awhile in the breezes of this book. (Armstrong, pp. 328. $1.25.) A. R. M.

Few men in the American church have exemplified so variously useful a life work as Dr. Washington Gladden. His books have made for him a large audience in the field of social literature. But the same man who has given so much time and energy to social leadership has been equally eminent as a pastor, and he has written the best work available on Pastoral Care. He has also published a series of essays on the Lord's Prayer, and popular discourses on matters of Biblical criticism. We are prepared to welcome his last volume — a book of sermons entitled *Where Does the Sky Begin.* They are characterized by the same lucid practical tone we find in his other writings; the pastoral touch with life is evident; the apprehension of man's spiritual and mental difficulties is felt; and the sympathy with modern thought and illustration is manifest in control and method. The prevailing lines of analogical suggestion are chiefly scientific, showing us a range of his reading other than the sociological, which his other books so abundantly disclose. The choice of apt texts is noteworthy. The outline of his thoughts is clearly reticulated without being mechanical. The style is simple, the motive vital, and the objective sharp and practical. A fine sample this of what effective, helpful preaching may be in the hands of a man of wide sympathy and practical earnestness. (Houghton, Mifflin Co., pp. 335. $1.25.) A. R. M.

The preface to *The Christian Opportunity* indicates that none of these discussions were written and were delivered as occasion called for them. They were delivered by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Randall T. Davidson) while on his visit to America. Some of them might have been anticipated and prepared before coming to America, but most of them must have been prepared almost purely ex tempore. The addresses must be con-

sidered with this fact in mind, and as such are to be judged. The more formal sermons cannot be accounted remarkable by the highest standard of prepared and published utterance. But both the sermons and the addresses are remarkable by the best standards of comparatively ex tempore and occasional remarks. The aptness and fineness of the tone and the sentiment, the local allusions, and the Catholic spirit, the courtesy and the gentlemanly tone of appreciation, all mark a man of generous and beautiful character, fineness of tact, and gracefulness of manner. There is hardly a trace of the mere ecclesiastic, and no one would ever guess that he was the Primate of England — so free are his words from the ex cathedra spirit. A large type of Christian man, making little pretension, without faults of matter and manner, a scholarly, catholic man of large interests and broad spirit: we like to think of him in such a high office. (Macmillan, pp. 233. $1.50.) A. R. M.

Brief meditative types of experiential preaching helpful in the spiritual life, sermons to the heart, interpretive of life, constructive in suggestion and of more than usual insight into life problems: such is a little volume entitled *The Spirit Christlike.* The author, Rev. C. S. Macfarland, discusses the Life Contemplative, The Light Within, The Growth in Grace, God Within Us, The Life Immortal, and other themes of a similar tenor. The volume may be classed more intimately with devotional books than most sermons, though having more of the sermonic form than such books often possess. The sermons have little of the mystical element which such books often possess, and are characterized by a practical tone that adds to their value for modern experiential thought. (The Pilgrim Press, pp. 173. 75 cts.) A. R. M.

Dr. Beverly Warner, Rector of Trinity Parish, New Orleans, educated at Princeton, at Hartford, and at Middletown, has given us in *The Young Man in Modern Life* a half dozen talks, rich in wholesome and sound advice. He has given them to us, though they were written for younger men, in fact had before them the particular boys of his own home, his family, and his social circle, for whom he felt a personal responsibility and in whom he had a special concern, and to whom they are dedicated.

It would be well for many, young and old, to read them. They give to life in its fresh outlookings just the counsel that cannot be ours till the experience of older years is reached, when it is too late for ourselves to put it to account. The talks on the Young Man's Books and Reading, his Work, and his Marriage are the best. (Dodd, Mead & Co., pp. vi, 193. 85 cts. net.) M. W. J.

It is a matter of much interest at this time to have in available form for our reading the views of Canon Henson — views which have created such commotion in England. Canon Henson has preached of late some sermons in Westminster Abbey on the subject of Christian Union, which have been criticised as going back upon former declarations of the preacher. In the preface of this volume on *Godly Union and Concord* he repudiates this charge, and shows how the positions taken now are views for which he has long stood. The utterances were significant chiefly from

the critical position taken in them against the extreme views held by the Episcopal church regarding Apostolic Succession. No more outspoken words on this subject could be possible from an officer of the English church. He is especially urgent in his position, because of a strong feeling of reprobation towards the attitude of many regarding the Non-conformist churches. These views are expressed with great force in this volume. They must have caused much dissent and some dismay among his brethren; and have been hailed with satisfaction by the dissenting portion of English Christendom. Not all the sermons are upon this theme, but nearly all are affected by this spirit. The discourses are too ecclesiastical in the range of their discussion to be very popular or interesting to American readers. They are evidently designed to make sentiment among the clergy of the Established church. But they are of interest especially to ministers and historical students as showing the trend of the broader and more tolerant spirit in the English church. They should be judged less from the homiletic than from the apologetic and historical points of view. (Longmans, pp. 282. $2.00.) A. R. M.

The production on the stage of Everyman has roused much interest in it and in other work of the same general class. There have come to hand two charmingly printed volumes, one containing *Everyman* and one *The Star of Bethlehem.* The latter is an adjustment to modern conditions of material from the Miracle Plays, and it has been like Everyman skillfully staged by Mr. Ben Greet. Both illustrations and typography carry out excellently the spirit of the age when the plays originated. (Fox Duffield & Co., pp. xii, 43, and pp. xx, 70. $1.00 each, postpaid.)

The receipt of the following publications is acknowledged:

From the Open Court Co.:

*The Metaphysical System of Hobbes,* Calkins. 40 cts.

*Locke's Essay Concerning the Human Understanding,* Calkins. 50 cts.

*Kant and Spencer,* by Dr. Paul Carus. 25 cts.

*Nature of the State,* by Dr. Paul Carus. 15 cts.

*Ants and Some Other Insects,* by Dr. August Flavel. 50 cts.

*Little Book of Prayer,* by Muriel Strode.

*Japanese Floral Calendar,* by E. W. Clement. 50 cts.

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*Shall I Unite with the Church,* by Rev. Wm. Bryant. 10 cts.

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*Practical Theology,* by G. B. Smith. 25 cts.

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*Elements of Chrysostom's Power,* by Galusha Anderson.

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*The Negro Farmer,* by Carl Kelsey. 50 cts.

From Francis J. Stein:

*College Course in Shorthand.* $1.25.

From United Society of Christian Endeavor:

The Francis E. Clark *Year-Book.* 75 cts.

# Seminary Annals.

## DEATH OF TWO TRUSTEES.

In the month of June, 1839, two boys were born, the one in Providence, the other on Cape Ann, who were destined to have strangely parallel careers, both at the East and in the West, to serve side by side in many official capacities among our Congregational churches, and now at length, after more than thirty-five years of faithful and fruitful service as God's messengers, to be called hence suddenly within a few days of each other, while searching for recuperation at a distance from their homes. In these two deaths, those of Dr. James Gibson Johnson of Farmington, Conn., and of Dr. Michael Burnham, until recently of St. Louis, Hartford Seminary is especially bereaved, since both had long been trustees, for fourteen and seventeen years respectively, Dr. Johnson from 1881 to 1893 and again since 1903, and Dr. Burnham since 1888. Both had been earnest friends and helpers to the institution, deeply concerned in its policy and ambitious for its true and highest welfare. It will be long before at the regular meetings of the Trustees and on all occasions of a public character they will cease to be remembered with affectionate warmth.

Without undertaking here either any full account of these two industrious and many-sided lives, or any adequate tribute to these two noble and suggestive characters, we may simply recall one or two traits of each that were salient in the relations in which they were here known.

Dr. Johnson at once impressed all who met him as endowed with a singularly keen, exact, and active mind, disciplined to an unusual combination of precision and breadth, and beautified in all its action by the warmth of a gentle spirit and a glowing devotion to the truth and the kingdom of God. His culture was wide and profound, and, as the years went on, his sagacity in counsel was more and more appreciated, so that to him men came for clear vision and balanced judgment upon every practical question. His speech was terse and clean cut, sometimes trenchant, but never wanting in the grace of courtesy and the sparkle of humor. His sincere kindliness bound all hearts to him, and the solidity of his convictions inspired general confidence and esteem. In some regards he was of a type that is becoming

less common, since he loved quiet and simplicity, but it is a type of which we may well say, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven."

Dr. Burnham represented a distinctly different type, though one not less admirable and useful. That in him which instantly drew men to him was the abounding heartiness and vigor of his personality. His face beamed with goodwill, his hand-grasp was eager and warm, and his words came always from one whose love for men was irrepressible. He craved contact with people and made his way straight into their trust and affection, since his capacity for sympathy had no bounds. He had manifest gifts as a preacher, and to him the pulpit was always the place of greatest power. He had an exalted sense of the grandeur and the efficacy of the Gospel for the hunger of men and the necessities of the age. To deliver its message of admonition or comfort or aspiration was for him the supreme duty and delight. Thus he was indeed a herald of good things to many waiting souls. Wherever he was known the impulse of his sturdy and aggressive consecration will long continue an inspiration to our churches.

THE

# HARTFORD SEMINARY RECORD

VOL. XV. NO. 4 — AUGUST, 1905

[Entered at the Hartford Post Office as Second Class Matter.]

Published quarterly on the 1st of November, February, May, and August. Subscription price, $1.00 per year, in advance. Single copies, 30 cents. Remit to order of HARTFORD SEMINARY PRESS, Hosmer Hall, Hartford, Conn.

EDITORIAL BOARD: — Professor Arthur Lincoln Gillett, Professor Waldo Selden Pratt, Professor Charles Snow Thayer. *Associate Editor:* — Stephen van Rensselaer Trowbridge. *Business Manager:* — Willis Lord Gelston.

The day of the month on which John Knox was born is not known. The year is not beyond possible question though generally held to have been 1505. Hartford Seminary celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of his birth June fifth and sixth with addresses given in the Seminary Chapel. These addresses in the order given, are, with one exception, printed in this number of the RECORD and constitute a worthy contribution to the quarcentenary of Knox. The address of Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, Ph.D., of Harvard University, which was delivered the second evening, was of a singular charm and great interest; but was so informal and colloquial in character that the author thought it undesirable to print it.

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The fresh impulse which has come within the last few years to the discussion of the question of Immortality has manifested itself in a large variety of books and articles published in the English language representing various phases of thought. Readers of the RECORD will be interested in a treatment of the same subject which appeared in a series of articles in *Der Beweis Des Glasbens.* They were written by E. G. Steude, who is one of the two editors of the magazine.

The author approaches the topic from the standpoint of Apologetics and at the start raises two questions, first, whether or not the question of immortality is one with which the defender of the Christian faith must deal; second, what sort of immortality the Christian believer is concerned with. The conclusion is reached that, considered Biblically, historically or experientially, a belief in immortality is of the essence of the Christian faith, and that Christian immortality is the immortality of an individual, thinking, feeling, personal self.

Such being the case, the conception of an immortality in the memory of man, or in the character of posterity, as well as the immortality constructed by pantheistic ways of thinking — whether idealistic with Hegel and Spinoza, or materialistic with Haeckel — is something which, even if it were demonstrable, would be without value to the Christian believer. Steude would however submit the different arguments in favor of the immortality of the soul to a critical examination, believing that the result will show that no mere belief in immortality can stand the test of reason but only the Christians hope of the future, which includes within its promise both soul and body, can meet the requirements. Consequently in this respect as well as in others the glory of the Christian view of the world will most strikingly appear.

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In this discussion the arrangement of matter is excellent and the illustrative material is abundant. Proofs of the immortality of the soul may be divided into three classes; first, Popular, second, Theological, third Philosophical. Under the first class Steude places the argument from analogy; that which would reach the conclusion because of the consequences of holding the contrary view; and that drawn from the experience of converse with the spirits of the departed. None of these popular arguments have logical cogency, and all of them have been used with no little ingenuity as evidence to disprove the eternal existence of the soul. They cannot accordingly have independent value.

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The Theological arguments for the immortality of the soul are divided into three, — the Teleological argument; the proof

from the idea of Future Awards; the argument from the Divine Attributes. The Teleological argument for immortality is essentially this. Every man has spiritual capacities, these are given him only that they may unfold and realize their end, but in the case of no man is this completion reached in this life, hence there must be a life to come where this goal may be reached. Against the cogency of such a position Steude urges that its validity presupposes the validity of the teleological argument for the being and nature of God, the difficulties respecting which are known to be many, and furthermore that if this argument prove valid it would not prove immortality, but only existence continued until such time as the nature of the individual has unfolded itself. True immortality could be held to be proved only on the presupposition of the infinite value of a human soul, — a presupposition which can be justified only through revelation.

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This general Teleological argument has six chief phases, — the argument from the universal demand for continued existence; that from the universal longing for happiness; that from the craving for a knowledge of truth; that growing from the demands of the moral consciousness; that from common consent. All of these arguments rest on two main premises, the first being that a universal craving or expectation warrants belief in a correspondent realization; the second being the real universality of the craving or expectation. Neither of these are axiomatic or primitive. Both are denied by modern philosophers and men of science. They can be upheld only on the basis of certain judgments already formed respecting the nature of the power shaping the universe, and concerning the nature of man. They have considerable cogency as pointing to personal immortality only with those who are already convinced of the theistic position and of the supreme and unique position of man in the universe. The sixth division is the Cosmical or Astronomical, which concludes from the multitudes and marvels of the heavenly bodies that there must be a continued life that inhabits or enjoys these. The force of this position rests solely on the overwhelming effect on man of the immensity of the universe combined with religious sentimentality and poetic fervor. It does not rest in logic at all.

The second main division of the Theological proof is the argument from Future Awards. In general it runs; Virtue deserves more reward, and vice more punishment than either get in this world; hence there must be an immortality in which this adjustment may be realized. In another form it is argued that the moral law depends for its efficiency in this world on the reality of future awards. Steude recognizes that the arguments so constructed have been both supported and assailed with excessive zeal. He holds however that giving to the argument whatever weight it deserves, it is not an independent argument but must rest back for its cogency on the conception of a righteous world-order, which in its turn will get its color in proportion as it is theistical or monistically conceived. Furthermore at its best the argument can never lead to the idea of a real immortality, but only to the idea of a life continued long enough to adjust righteously the awards of the deeds done in this life.

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The third Theological argument is that from the Divine Attributes. Those primarily adduced are the Omnipotence and Love of God. Both of these exclude the possibility that man shall cease to be, for God's Omnipotence supplies the possibility, and his Love gives the assurance of man's continued life. Whatever cogency it may be felt this argument has both as to the actuality and nature of life immortal rests on the preconceptions entertained as to the nature of both the human soul and the cause of the universe.

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The third division of the proofs for the Immortality is the Philosophical. This argument is from the nature of the soul and it concludes therefrom to the possibility or even necessity of its continued existence after death. So long as one argues simply from the nature of the soul and leaves one side the faith in God and man's relation to Him, the argument is purely Metaphysical. When the spirit or reason of man is considered as distinguished from the soul, and the conclusion to immortality is drawn from the extraordinary nature of the inner life of man, then the argument may be called Pneumatological.

The Metaphysical argument would try to prove from the essential simplicity of the soul; from its independence; from the nature of the ego and its essential self-identity; and from the substantiality of the soul, that it must perdure and enter into immortal life. This argument comes into conflict with much of modern psychological conclusion and in all its forms is challenged both as to its presuppositions and its conclusion. It is not possible to bring any of the arguments on this basis to a conclusion without the aid of the Teleological or the Pneumatological arguments. The argument that in recent years has had most popularity is that from the substantiality of the soul, but that to be effective needs the presupposition of a moral controller of the world, it fails to give assurance of the continuance of the individual, and it supplies no distinction between the human soul and that of the beasts.

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The last Philosophical proof is the Pneumatological. This rests on two conceptions, — the Capacity of the soul for great ideas, and the Kinship of the soul with God. This possession of lofty prophetic ideas can be shown to be distinctive of man. It seems to separate him from the lower creaturehood, it may well seem to give him title to an eternal life, and yet it must be borne in mind that the life which it promises may as readily be interpreted in terms of a pantheism, materialistic or idealistic, as in terms of theism. The proof from Kinship with God would conclude from the fact of man's creation by God in the divine likeness that he must stand always above time, superior to the incident of death, living eternally with God. What this life is will depend on the conception of the nature of God. It may be interpreted idealistically or materialistically, with Haeckel, or with the sages of India.

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Such a critical review makes it apparent that both the nature of the immortal life and the fact of it are determinable not by and for themselves, but in connection with the view of the world, the philosophy, with which they are linked. It is impracticable to establish the peculiarly Christian view of a future life except

in connection with the whole Christian view of the world. The peculiarity of the Christian hope for the future grows out of the Christian view of the world. This is the idea of a Kingdom of God completed in the heavenly world. This is a universal kingdom, planned by God, imperiled through the sinful freedom of man, and set upon an assured foundation by Jesus Christ. Its realization is in a state of complete and blessed fellowship of God with man and man with God. The Christian hope of the future is thus the climax of the Christian faith. At the same time it manifests itself in a singularity and nobility that lifts it high over all the future anticipations of other religions and philosophies. If the Christian conception of the future life and its truth is thus held firmly in connection with the whole Christian view of the world it is easy to show the irrelevancy and insignificance of many of the doubts and criticisms urged against the reality of immortality.

But the criticism may still be urged that beautiful as this Christian view of the world is, high as it stands above other conceptions, it may yet be only a product of the imagination. To this, the reply is the person of the historic Christ. Only the full conviction of the divine sonship of Christ guarantees the truth of Christianity and the certainty of the Christian future as it shapes itself for the Christian's hope.

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Steude's aim is thus to make it plain that every discussion of immortality will have its conclusions determined by the philosophy, the view of the world of the person discussing. Such should and such may be the Christian's attitude. The Christian gains little from the promises contained in arguments which involve a conception of the world which he must reject. He holds a view of the world which cannot be rationally overthrown, which has in its favor the unshakable testimony of the Christian experience, and which is supported by the reality of the divine historic Christ. It is this that gives both the peculiar assurance and the peculiar nobility to the Christian conception of human Immortality.

# THE TIMES OF JOHN KNOX.

The religious revolt of the sixteenth century, significant as it is from the point of view of creed and dogma, is equally significant as a factor shaping the political and national life of the states of western Europe. Although it cannot claim to have created new conditions, it gave impetus and new life to movements already in making, and in its turn it was affected by the social and political conditions of the people whom it influenced and was colored by the national tendencies already at work in each separate country where it appeared. It invaded the field of diplomacy and often furnished the pretexts for alliances and counter alliances that had as their object the aggrandizement of great royal houses and the elevation of the power of monarchy. Those in authority found that by accepting a religious creed, whether that of the schismatic or that of the orthodox church, they could strengthen their own power, and legally, inasmuch as the treaty of Augsburg declared that he who controlled the state could control its religion also, a doctrine expressive of the political theory of the time in that it applied autocracy to the affairs of conscience.

The Reformation not only effected the destruction of that universality of the Roman Church which had existed throughout the Middle Ages, but also aided in the establishment of a new political order based on a system of states within which the prince was absolute. The age of John Knox was not an age of religious toleration, for the idea of men living side by side and enjoying religious liberty had not yet been conceived. An independent religious faith could not be suffered to exist, because it fostered opposition to existing political and feudal institutions, and the monarch of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not deem himself supreme until his authority in both church and state had been established.

Just as religious toleration did not exist, so national unity,

as understood in the nineteenth century, did not prevail. Save in Switzerland and Holland, where the struggle against feudal overlords was essentially popular in character, national unity was synonymous with the power and prestige of the monarch, and the national will found voice only in the will of the state. Questions of language, race, customs, and tradition received as little consideration as did religion at the hands of kings who were struggling to obtain absolute power and extend their territorial authority, and loyalty took the form of obedience to the state and its law. Though this political order did not reach its highest development until the end of the seventeenth century, it can be seen in its first stages in the days of the Reformation, determining the history of that great revolt and giving direction to the religious wars that followed. Thus the Protestant Reformation, which began as a religious movement and a great moral reaction against the corruptions of the mediæval church, ended in effecting a political revolution and establishing the supremacy of the state.

The course of the Reformation gave rise to two great religious schools, named after Luther and Calvin, that were as violently opposed to each other as each was opposed to the church and to the doctrine from which it had broken away. Lutheranism, which in its influence reached but little beyond the boundaries of the country in which it had its birth, soon lost its aggressive character and, adapting itself to the political doctrine of the sovereignty of princes, ceased by the middle of the sixteenth century to be a proselyting form of religious faith. But Calvinism, a creed more logical and stern than had been that of Luther as defined at Augsburg, won adherents in all parts of the western world, and at the same time that it trained its followers in lofty ideals of civil and religious independence, it created characters, often narrow and fanatical, always determined and aggressive. A comprehensive and positive form of faith, Calvinism gave to Protestantism a definite system of theology, a standard by which to judge creeds and governments, a banner around which to rally in the wars that followed, and became the fighting faith in the Protestant world.

The success of Protestantism had been due in largest part to

the moral degradation of those who were the leaders and members of the mediæval church. The utterances of Luther and the teachings of Calvin found favor in an age when the spirit of individualism was dominating society and inclinations were everywhere present to break away from the conventions of the times. It is unjust to speak of the eve of the Reformation as a time of stagnation in social activity and social prosperity. The world was awake, not asleep. Art, architecture, learning, and commerce were never more zealously cultivated than then. But there was stagnation in spiritual life, and abuse in religious practice; and for seventy-five years before Luther began his work thoughtful men had seen whither events were tending, and had sought by every means in their power to avert the impending catastrophe. But the ecclesiastical organization was too huge and unwieldy to purify all at once; upon it lay a dead weight of apathy and indifference, and even those earnestly desiring drastic reformation in head and members, knew not how to begin. The success of Protestantism and the aggressive advance of the followers of Calvin stirred the older organization to its depths. To the Catholic world the loss was not merely that of spiritual influence and authority, it was a loss of temporal power and territory as well. To recover its position of supremacy the Roman Church began a thorough cleansing and strengthening of all its parts. New religious orders were founded which revived the spiritual life of the church, and a great council, summoned as early as 1537 at Mantua, completed its work, after many vicissitudes and postponements, in the Tyrolese city of Trent in 1563. Here was begun a purification of the old church of those abuses, superstitions, and scandals which had so effectively aroused the wrath of the schismatic reformers.

But purification in spiritual life and increase of personal piety and individual self sacrifice represented but the negative part of the work of this council. In order to check the growing menace of Protestantism, that body prepared the way for an aggressive warfare as well. By the recognition of a higher papal supremacy, by a more efficient centralization of ecclesiastical authority, by the founding of seminaries and colleges for the education of priests and laity, by injunctions regarding preaching and labor

among the people, it met the Protestant revolt and turned it back upon itself. With power centered in a single head who could command obedience to a single law, the reorganized church could concentrate its efforts with a force and certainty unattainable by the disorganized Protestant world. To meet the attack of Calvinism, the Society of Jesus, a military organization formed for religious purposes, became the light horse of the great papal army; and imbued with a single purpose, commanded by a single superior to whom implicit and unqualified obedience was due, it entered the contest filled with zeal and determination to overthrow its greatest enemy. The doctrine defined at Augsburg that he who rules the kingdom shall control its religion also, rendered the faith of kings of more moment in the struggle than the faith of the people, for the faith of the king was the faith of the state also. The conversion of a monarch or the accession of a monarch loyal to one faith or the other was a matter of first importance in deciding a victory, and often determined the direction that the struggle should take. The Jesuits in their wisdom undertook the education of the children, in order that those who in the generation to follow were to become princes and kings should be thoroughly versed in loyalty to the faith, and be prepared to play their part in the later days of the religious wars. The members of the order became the allies and advisers of kings, encouraging the faithful, strengthening the lukewarm, endeavoring to recall those who had lapsed; and in cases where Protestantism was firmly established, laboring to place upon the throne an heir trained in their own school. The struggle beginning with the second half of the sixteenth century and raging for a century marked the opening of one of the mightiest conflicts that the world has ever seen, and little wonder is it that it bequeathed to posterity a heritage of religious prejudice and hatred.

In this struggle the earliest important issue was raised and the first great crisis met in a remote and unexpected quarter. At the time when the old church was girding itself for the encounter; when Pius IV was summoning for the third time the Council of Trent to consider an internal reform and to repel heresy; when Philip II, the dull, plodding, but determined champion of Catholi-

cism, was taking up the burden, not only of his father's rule, but of his father's policy in Spain; when the Guises were preparing to win supremacy in France and to sweep away Protestantism from the land; when both Spain and France, apprehensive of danger ahead, brought to an end the war that had lasted between them for more than thirty years and in the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis agreed upon peace, — at that time, during the years from 1558 to 1559, all eyes were turned to the northwest where two small Catholic kingdoms, hitherto of minor importance in determining the course of European affairs, were advancing to the very front of the religious struggle, the result of which would determine, to no small extent, the history of the Protestant Reformation. In 1559 England and Scotland faced the problem, not only of their religious faith, but of their national unity as well, and upon the issue of this struggle hung the fate of the British nation.

At the close of the Middle Ages England and Scotland were small, backward kingdoms. England was inferior to Germany in wealth, commerce, and influence. Her life was largely agricultural, her commerce was almost entirely in the hands of foreigners — merchants from the cities of the Baltic, the North Sea, and the Mediterranean — and her constitutional and political progress had been checked by foreign and civil wars. Even after peace had come and the absolutism of the early Tudors had rescued her from the injurious consequences of the feudal wars of the Roses, she remained in all her relations with the continental states a dependency of the house of Habsburg. Henry VIII married the Habsburg Catherine of Aragon and Mary Tudor became the wife of the Habsburg Philip of Spain. Notwithstanding the shrewd and masterful diplomacy of Wolsey, which gave to England for the first time a place among the European powers and freed her from the commercial supremacy of the foreigner, England under Henry VIII had hardly begun her national self-deliverance. She was still a second-rate power, valued as a supporter, disliked as a competitor, but rarely treated as an equal by the monarchs of Spain, France, and Germany.

Scotland, even more than England, was an obscure and insignificant state, almost beyond the ken of the people of the south. Socially and politically as well as geographically she seemed to

stand on the fringe of civilization. Dominated by a turbulent and factious feudal baronage, among whom constitutional government had made little or no progress, Scotland could present no such series of parliamentary precedents as are to be found in the history of England. Scottish parliamentary history shows, says Mr. Rait, "no statesman kings surrounded by sagacious advisers, defining the scope and purpose of a legal system; no patriotic barons banded together to wrest from an unwilling monarch a power which was not being wielded for the national good; no common aim uniting reformers of the thirteenth century with reformers of the seventeenth; no great names in the progress of constitutional freedom — no Henry II, no Simon de Montfort, no Edward I, no Hampden, and no Sydney." Until the days of the Scottish Reformation, Scotland was in the firm grasp of the feudal *régime,* her society was baronial, her parliament was a meeting of estates, and her government was a system based on land tenure and privilege. The Scottish baron, master of lands wider than the king's own, was not only a feudal lord but a clan chief, followed by large bands of retainers, over whom he had absolute power. Though the smaller barons had a certain right to attend the feudal assembly, there is little reason to believe that they ever came; for traveling was expensive and dangerous, and in those unruly times for a lesser man to leave his lands was to provoke attack and despoliation from rival neighbors. Inasmuch as bishoprics and abbacies were little more than private appanages of the noble families, the church, too, was controlled by the same feudal aristocracy. The burgher class, though represented at the meeting of the estates, seems to have had little ambition for political life and power; and the smaller freeholders, bound by loyalty to the clan or the family, never resisted the claims or the pretensions of the great barons. Outside the feudal hierarchy stood the king, the paramount lord of all, whose royal authority, except in a few instances, was little more than a name. Possessed of demesnes often inferior in extent to the greater resources of his own barons, the king, even when of man's estate, could not cope with the great houses of the realm. Moreover, infant kings and minorities weakened the powers of monarchy and threw the control of the government into the hands

of the nobility. Beyond the Scotland of the lowlands lay the Scotland of the highlands, where dwelt the savage, Celtic Highlanders called Redshanks, ever a lawless and untamable body. While, altogether, lowlanders and highlanders numbered but a few hundred thousand and were sustained with difficulty in a land none too fertile, and rendered no more productive by frequent feudal wars and bloodshed. This poor and sparsely settled country gave birth during this feudal era to few men of intellectual stature, to almost no statesmen, to no jurists, and to scarcely an artist or architect of note. The best that the country had, came from abroad. Of national development before the time of Knox there is little to record, for even the independence won at Bannockburn was but the independence of the baronial families. There is romance, there is glamour, there are brave deeds, but of progressive civilization there is scarcely a trace. Where agricultural life is dominant and feudal customs are supreme, institutions must remain rudimentary and trade and commerce undeveloped. Such was Scotland when John Knox first knew it.

During this early period Scotland had been a mere satellite of France. Since the days when Edward I had made his claim of feudal suzerainty and had entered Scotland with an army, the Scots had been actuated by a deep and uncontrollable detestation of the English. Through good and evil report of England, this hatred had been maintained, until at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Knox was born, the thought of a union with England would have been repudiated by every loyal Scotsman. But in 1502 Henry VII, already in alliance with the Habsburgs of Spain and Germany, entered for the first time into competition with the European powers, and drew Scotland into the union by the marriage of his daughter Margaret to James IV. But the Scots repudiated the alliance, and James IV returned to his alliance with the French. He was killed on the field of Flodden in 1513, and his son, James V, for whom Henry VIII designed his daughter Mary for a wife, not only thwarted the design by turning to France and marrying a member of the most powerful Catholic family there, the house of Guise, but following in the footsteps of his father, aided France by attacking England. But

in 1542 he suffered a lamentable defeat at Solway Moss, and two weeks after the battle a daughter was born to him, a child destined to be the center of Scottish history for thirty years. Defeated at Solway, and leaving only an infant daughter to succeed him, James V on his deathbed might well exclaim that what had come with a lass might go with a lass, and that a marriage which had brought to the Stuarts the crown of Scotland might well take it away, for the infant daughter was heir to the Scottish throne. This child was Mary Queen of Scots.

The struggle between England and France for the control of Scotland, which up to this point had been largely dynastic and diplomatic in character, became religious also when, about 1540, Protestantism began to strike root there. Though hitherto a loyal Catholic kingdom, Scotland was in a condition favorable to the introduction of the new learning. The clergy had always been wealthy and powerful, and in numbers out of all proportion to the population of the land. They were in the main indolent and secular and led scandalous lives. "Dumb dogs" they were called by the later preachers, because they paid no attention to the spiritual needs of their people, and "idle bellies" because they fattened without labor on the best of the land. The kirk-lands were broad and wide and excited the cupidity of the avaricious nobility, many of whom controlled the extensive territories by commendation of benefices to laymen, who in turn used them for purposes that were far from spiritual. The eager longing of the people for teachers and for a faith that would instruct and uplift them, and the greed of the nobles for the wealth of the church, are factors to be considered in studying the Scottish reformation. But the strength of the Roman clergy, who were led by the champion of the Roman faith, the indomitable, ruthless, worldly Archbishop Beaton of St. Andrews, and the undying hatred of England, where reformation was being forced upon the people by bullying and autocratic methods, prevented any widespread extension of the teachings of Luther, which, gentle and peaceful in character, had none of the proselyting power of Calvinism. Yet Lutheranism had penetrated the land and there had been a few burnings for heresy. It had crept into literature, and ballads took on a godly ring; verses and prose writings lashed

the clergy and laid bare their scandalous lives to the gaze of rich and poor alike. The new religion crept into the minds, if not always into the hearts, of some of the influential nobles, and men like the elder Earl of Arran, next heir to the throne after Mary Stuart and regent of the kingdom in 1543, showed marked Protestant sympathies. Many another lord, angered by the dominance of the clergy, and believing that adherence to France was likely to repeat the days of Flodden and Solway Moss, was ready to support a Protestant cause. In this conflict between Catholicism and the alliance with France on one side, and Protestantism and the alliance with England on the other, the first success was to be with England, and it looked for the moment as if Henry VIII was to win by those same masterful methods that he had employed so successfully in the earlier years of his reign. In 1543 he won the Earl of Arran to his side, cajoled or bribed a number of the discontented Scottish barons, and arranged with them a double alliance. Permanent peace was to exist between England and Scotland, and Mary Stuart was to marry the infant Edward Tudor, King Edward VI that was to be.

But hopes of a permanent union between England and Scotland based on these proposals of Henry VIII were premature. The Roman Church was still strong, the old hatred of England was still unquenched, and the natural dislike of the Scots for the English was intensified by Henry's methods, as crude as they were tactless, for he not only cajoled and bribed, but stormed and threatened, as he saw an opposition rising against him and Scotland slipping out of his hands. In the face of his demand that Mary Stuart be sent to England, and of his promise to the Earl of Arran that he would give his other daughter Elizabeth to the Earl's son in marriage, the Scottish nobles deserted the English cause. The elder Arran yielded to the influence of the church party, renounced Protestantism, and did penance for his apostacy. The peace with England was repudiated and the alliance with France reëstablished. The Catholic party in Scotland wreaked its vengeance on the heretics, notably at Dundee and Perth, and four were executed for their faith, and at the same time Henry took a pitiless revenge for the defection of Arran by burning Edinburgh and destroying three of Scotland's finest abbeys —

Melrose, Kelso, and Dryburgh. The "revolt" of Arran, the burning of heretics, and the vengeance of the untamed Tudor king inaugurated a period of strife and confusion whence was to emerge a new Scottish national consciousness and eventually a new Scotland.

Backward and forward the conflict raged. Henry's vindictive cruelty drove patriotic Scotsmen to the side of France and the church, and for the moment Beaton seemed supreme. But he, too, could make a memorable and irretrievable blunder. The ablest Protestant preacher that Scotland had yet produced was George Wishart, who, returning to his native land after a time of wandering and exile, preached the new learning in Montrose, Dundee, and Ayrshire. Approaching the diocese of St. Andrews, under the very eyes of the bishop, he preached the gospel at Haddington. There among his hearers was a man about forty years of age, priest, notary, and private tutor, who had as yet taken no part in Scottish affairs. This man was John Knox. But even while drinking in the new ideas, Knox was to see his master seized by the archbishop, tried, condemned, hanged, and afterward (March 2, 1546) burnt for heresy before the gate of the castle. Two months and a half later this foul murder was matched by another equally foul, for a band of Scottish lords broke into the castle of St. Andrews and there stabbed the archbishop to death.

We cannot "write merrily" of this deed, as did Knox in his history. Though honest contemporaries might say that "the deed were foully done," yet in the same breath they can add that the "loon were well away"; and they had reason for this harsh judgment. In Archbishop Beaton the old faith in Scotland lost its chief support, for to his adroit and skilful manipulation had been due the successful resistance to the spread of Protestantism and the alliance with England. But the Roman Church in Scotland was dying of inanition and moral decay, and his death only hastened an issue which was rendered inevitable by the self-seeking policy and immoral lives of those who should have been the spiritual light and comfort of their followers.

The murderers of the archbishop were immediately besieged in the town and castle of St. Andrews by the regent Arran, and

it was not until a French fleet came to the aid of the besiegers, that the conspirators finally yielded. Among them was John Knox, who had sought refuge with them and had been appointed their preacher. Surely no great reformer or national hero ever began his career as a leader of his countrymen under stranger or more trying auspices than were these. Yet even here in the old seat of the bishopric he disclosed the spirit that afterward awakened Scotland. He endeavored to curb the excesses of the conspirators, declaring that their corrupt life could not escape the punishment of God; and he preached in the parish church, disputing with the local clergy, and arousing the people. The blood of Wishart was becoming the seed of the church. But the incident had a sorry ending. When the castle capitulated, the besieged, Knox among the number, were carried off to serve in the galleys of France, and there Knox remained for nineteen months, chained to an oar, nursing hatred for France, hoping "to glorify God" by the overthrow of an idolatrous church, and meditating on the confession and discipline of a new order. Who knows how many of the arguments of later days were clinched with each sweep of the oar?

During the eight years that elapsed before John Knox returned to Scotland, the tide of conflict between England and France for the control of Scotland ebbed and flowed. Henry VIII died in 1547, and the Protector Somerset, ruling for the young Edward VI, took up the scheme of national consolidation and endeavored to save Scotland from becoming an appendage of France. Following his predecessor's policy he employed the argument of war and won a victory over the Scots at Pinkie, which cost the vanquished six thousand men. But he raised the whole question to a higher level of statesmanship than had any who had preceded him, and struck a very prophetic note in the proposition that he advanced of a liberal union between England and Scotland. To avoid the hated name of "English" he suggested a union of the two kingdoms under the common name of Great Britain. He offered to the Scots full autonomy, their own constitutions, their own legal system, and a policy of free trade with England. We do not wish, he said, "to conquer, but to have in amity; not to win by force, but to conciliate by love; not

to spoil and kill, but to save and keep; not to discuss and divorce, but to join in marriage from high to low both the realms, to make of one Isle one realm in love, amity, concord, peace, and charity. We intend not to disinherit your queen, but to make her heirs inheritors also to England. If we two being made one by amity be most able to defend us against all nations, and having the sea for wall, mutual love for garrison, and God for defense, should make so noble and well agreeing a monarchy that neither in peace we may be ashamed nor in war afraid of any worldly or foreign power, why should not you be as desirous of the same and have as much cause to rejoice at it as we?"

But the first proposal for a greater Britain came to an untimely end. The slaughter of six thousand Scots at Pinkie was hardly a suitable preliminary for a negotiation on a basis of love and amity, and we can hardly be surprised that the Scottish nobility listened with greater willingness to the persuasions of the French, who arrived in December, 1547, with a fleet, bringing not only troops but gold sufficient "to wage ten thousand Scots." Though England promptly sent a rival fleet, victory lay with France, and the Scottish feudal assembly made a momentous decision. They agreed that Mary, the five year old queen, should be carried overseas to her relatives the Guises, there to pass the formative years of her girlhood in a cultivated and luxurious court, to receive her training under the guardianship of her uncles in the religion of her mother, and to be prepared for her future destiny, not only as queen of Scots, but as queen of France. Shortly after her arrival in France, Mary was betrothed to the Dauphin, afterwards Francis II. To all outward seeming England had lost in the encounter. Scotland was as strongly Catholic as before and resentment against England and gratitude for France seemed to dominate the Scottish policy. But the seeming was not all the truth. Many of the leading Scottish barons were considering the English cause, ready when the occasion should arise to support the plan of union, and more important still, among the lower classes hatred of France was increasing and Protestantism slowly gaining ground. Time was working in favor of the pro-English and pro-Protestant party. With many of the nobles wavering, with more realizing that French rule was

in the interest, not of Scottish independence, but of a foreign power, with Protestantism spreading among the burghers, it is not surprising that the new era of French ascendency was destined to be the last.

Yet the French cause never seemed stornger than in the years 1554 to 1559, when the Queen Mother, Mary of Lorraine, taking the place of Arran as regent, ruled Scotland in the name of the child queen, Mary Stuart. To the leaders of the house of Guise, the Duke of Guise and Cardinal Lorraine, the sternest and most uncompromising of all adherents of the Roman party, the opportunity had at last come. With their Scottish niece prospective queen of France, with their sister regent of Scotland, with the English party in disfavor, with John Knox in exile, all seemed ready for a forward movement which should restore Catholicism to full control in Scotland and make that land a province of France. For five years they inspired their sister with zeal for the accomplishment of these objects, and nobly did she respond to their inspiration. She was a woman of energy, shrewdness, and determination, and she applied her French policy with delicacy and caution. She chose Frenchmen as her advisers, placed Frenchmen in a number of important offices, garrisoned fortresses with French troops, broke the power of the greatest of the Scottish barons, Huntly, endeavored to establish a standing army, and in many respects the most serious of all, in the eyes of the Scots, proposed a system of taxation for the support of the troops. But neither Mary nor her brothers sufficiently realized that in subjecting Scotland to the rule of a French king and so destroying its independence they were arousing as great an opposition among the Scottish people as ever had Henry VIII, when by invasions, harryings, and burnings he had sought to reduce Scotland to a state of dependence on England. To many of the Scots Henry's brutal policy was no worse than the subtle and cunning contrivances of the Guises, and it seemed to be an even question whether, as an instrument of death, French poison were not as bad as an English bludgeon. It was at least a suggestive incident that in 1557, when Mary Tudor of England at the command of her Habsburg husband declared war on France, the Scottish lords

refused to invade England at the bidding of the regent. They desired no repetition of Flodden and Solway Moss.

Even more ominous for a long continuance of French rule was the spread of a new Protestantism in Scotland. Lutheranism ceased to be the great protagonist in the struggle. After the death of Edward VI in 1553 and the accession of Mary Tudor, John Knox had fled to the continent and there become the leader of the church at Frankfort, a Protestant community more closely in accord with the Calvinistic order than were other continental churches at Strassburg and Zürich. Here for two years Knox, with other pronounced Calvinists, defended the Calvinistic order against the Anglican party. As select preacher to Edward VI in England he had strengthened his persuasive powers, and now at Frankfort he sharpened his natural gift for argument and attack by quarreling over the English prayer-book with Dr. Cox and his Anglican followers. It was not a creditable performance, and the martyrologist Fox, who was present at these undignified arguments, wrote: "All the young men, even such as were boys, joined in on one side or the other. Nay those that were old men and divines, that should have promoted peace and concord, added more flame to the fire than the rest." So heated became the strife that in March, 1554, the magistrates of Frankfort threatened to expel the whole colony of exiles from their city, and peace was obtained only by driving John Knox from Frankfort. Thence he went to Geneva, to sit at the feet of Calvin. Confirmed in his views, and rendered more than ever obstinate and belligerent by what he deemed the "oppression" of Frankfort, he returned to Scotland in 1555 and inaugurated an aggressive campaign against the old faith of that kingdom.

The way had already been in part prepared for him. The Marian persecution in England had driven many Protestants across the border, where two of them, Harlow and Willcock, Scotsmen by birth, had begun to preach to whosoever would listen. Knox, building upon what these men had already begun, spent ten months, passing from place to place, preaching, teaching and organizing churches. He spoke not only to the common people, but also to the nobles, and he won over to the reform faith men destined to play an important part in the events that

were to follow, among others the Earl of Argyle, Lord James, later the Regent Moray, and most interesting of all, the young William Maitland of Lethington, who, though hardly a convert, listened with interest to the preaching of the new learning in Edinburgh. Though summoned before the spiritual authorities for his breach of the laws against heresy, and compelled to leave Scotland and return to Geneva, Knox had definitely founded a Protestant party which daily grew stronger and bolder. In the very year 1557, when the Scottish nobles refused to support France in the war against England, the first league or covenant was signed organizing a Protestant "congregation of Jesus Christ," banded for the spread of Calvinism in Scotland. War on the "Congregation of Satan" was its watchword, and the rejection of the prayer book of Edward VI, the need of an immediate reform of the "wicked, slanderous, and detestable life of prelates and the state ecclesiastical," its programme. The cause of Catholicism and the Guises was not prospering. Protestantism and patriotism were rapidly becoming one and the same, and there was needed only a change in the political situation abroad to identify Protestantism and patriotism with the idea of an alliance with England.

This change was wrought by the death of Mary Tudor and the accession of Elizabeth to the throne of England. Whether from policy alone or from policy mingled with a desire to compromise we may not decide — for Elizabeth was no theologian — the young queen, but 25 years old, had already made up her mind that England should be a Protestant kingdom. In the Anglican Settlement of 1558-59 the great decision was made and the gauntlet thrown down before Catholic Europe, a bold defiance in the face of Rome and France, who were preparing now as never before to suppress the revolt of the heretics in Europe and to reëstablish a regenerated Catholicism in the lands where the old Catholicism had formerly held full sway. The struggle was deepening in intensity and the crisis was becoming acute. The lines sharply drawn in England by the Anglican Settlement took definite form in Scotland when the reforming lords, the Lords of the Congregation, demanded of Mary of Lorraine the right of free worship, and made it evident that they were ready, should

the opportunity offer, to accept the alliance with the new English Protestantism for the overthrow of French rule in Scotland and the elimination of Catholicism there. Patriotism, Protestantism, and the English alliance were gradually drawing together.

In and out of Scotland the leaders of the Catholic party girded themselves for the struggle. The death of Mary Tudor had opened a brilliant opportunity to the ambitious house of Guise and the Catholics everywhere for an attack upon England. The decision of Queen Elizabeth and her advisers that England should be a Protestant kingdom meant not only the loss to Rome of England, where probably three-fourths of the people were at this time adherents of the old faith, but also the encouragement of Protestants in other lands who were watching with eager eyes the progress of events in this small, but now important, kingdom. The forces seemed unequal. England was weak, impoverished, and despised; the treasury was empty; the loyalty of the queen's subjects was uncertain; the queen herself was deemed by many illegitimate and a usurper, and there was no Protestant heir. Soldiers there were, but England's military methods had not been successful in recent campaigns. Sailors there were, but as yet they had done little for England's maritime greatness, and the magnificent deeds of England's naval heroes could hardly be foreseen in the year 1559.

To the English Protestants there seemed little light visible upon the horizon, but to the Roman party there was light and a great hope. A great council was about to continue its sessions and complete the reformation of the mediæval church; the Jesuits, past masters in the art of proselyting, were training for their splendid career as missionaries; and France and Spain, old-time enemies, seemed in the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis to have united for the cause of Catholicism. And that the drama might not lack a central figure and a personal and romantic interest, Mary Stuart, a woman, young, attractive, and of a magnetic personality that wins support, came upon the scene at this juncture to play a very prominent part. Six months before Elizabeth became queen of England, Mary Stuart married the dauphin of France, and six months afterward, by the death of Henry II, became queen of France. Thus, the queen of Scotland was

queen of France also, and as a claimant to the throne of England, became an instrument in the hands of those who wished to save England and Scotland for the old faith. Mary Stuart was not only woman and queen, she was also "the representative and symbol of regenerated Catholicism" and around her "raged a contest of diplomatic skill and force of arms" almost without equal in history.

When on July 10, 1559, Francis II became king of France and Mary of Scots queen of France, the Guises seemed ready to carry out the alluring and dazzling scheme whereby their niece was to become the Catholic ruler of a triumvirate of kingdoms. But how best to accomplish their purpose was by no means clear. A direct attack upon England was for the moment impossible, for Philip II, ardent Catholic though he was, was too jealous of France to aid in extending the power of that kingdom by obtaining the throne of England for the wife of the king of France. He used his influence at Rome to prevent the Pope from condemning Elizabeth as a bastard and a heretic and so checked that uprising of English Catholics which might have taken place had the signal been given either from Rome or Madrid. The political rivalry of France and Spain saved Elizabeth and her Anglican Settlement from continental attack. As far, therefore, as the Guises were concerned, the advance upon England had to be made by way of Scotland, where it was absolutely necessary that the government be controlled by their sister, the regent, and Protestantism be crushed or rendered harmless. Scotland, they saw, would have to become to a greater extent than ever before a dependency of France, heresy would have to be put down, the unauthorized preachers be silenced, and Scotsmen compelled to return to the ways of the Catholic Church. This determination involved the withdrawing of all previous conciliatory policies, and the reëstablishment of Catholicism in Scotland by force.

Instantly Scotland was in a blaze. To national feeling and religious conviction was now added the discontent of the people at large because of the wealth of the church and its employment for base purposes. Early in 1559 a manifesto placarded on the gates of every religious foundation in Scotland bade the clergy give up their ill-gotten gains or prepare to be ejected by force.

Discontent ripened into revolt and revolt into revolution. The preachers, disregarding the regent's order that by Easter Sunday, 1559, all Scotsmen were to return to the ways of the Church, entered upon a defiant campaign, spreading their doctrines broadcast in Perth, Dundee, and Montrose, while Knox, scenting the battle from afar, returned from Dieppe in France to take his part in the struggle. "I see," he wrote, "the battle shall be great and I am come. I praise my God even in the brunt of the battle." In a famous sermon preached at Perth on May 11th, he roused the tumultuous assembly, "the rascal multitude," to begin the attack on the churches and religious houses. In the month that followed Knox continued his powerful denunciations of the idolatries of Rome, and churches were gutted, images broken, works of art destroyed, and gold and silver carried off. Of monasteries and friaries only the walls were left standing. Monks and nuns were driven from their refuges, and where Protestants were in control, priests were forbidden to celebrate mass on pain of death. This unrestrained and fanatical outbreak, with its unedifying exhibition of religious hatred, marks the beginning of the religious revolution in Scotland, and the inauguration of a brief civil war. Militant Calvinism, led by John Knox, to whom a government conducted by a woman was only a little less obnoxious than Catholicism itself, had divided Scotland into two great parties — that of the queen regent, with her French troops and Scottish supporters at Stirling, and that of the Lords of the Congregation at Perth. Negotiations proved futile and of short duration, and in the end the Lords captured Edinburgh. Fearful lest with their untrained levies they might not be able to hold their position against the trained troops of France, they turned to England for aid. Elizabeth had made one great decision in her Anglican Settlement; would she now make another in favor of Scottish rebels and Knox's Calvinistic reformation?

Personally, Elizabeth had little sympathy for the Scottish cause; she hated rebels and all rebellions, and held in extreme veneration the sanctity of the crowned head. She hated Calvinism and all religious fads, and in her own Protestantism had adhered as closely as possible to the liturgy and ritual of the old

church. She disliked John Knox, not only because of his trumpet blast against the governorship of queens, but also because he had preached against images and the idolatry of the mass. But Elizabeth on political and national grounds was forced to uphold a cause that she personally disliked. Knox himself and Maitland of Lethington, ardent upholders of an alliance with England, not only believed that "earnest embracing of religion" should bind the two peoples "straitly together," but they made it abundantly clear to William Cecil that France was preparing to use Scotland as the base for an attack upon England and that England must defend herself in Scotland. To this appeal Elizabeth unwillingly responded, promising in a noteworthy and epoch-making treaty to aid the Scots in driving the French from the land. Troops and ships were dispatched northward, and for the first time in history Englishmen and Scotsmen fought side by side against France. Leith was captured, and in July, 1560, was signed the treaty of Edinburgh, a famous treaty, marking the central and turning point in Scottish national and religious history. By its terms the French were to leave Scotland, Mary Stuart was practically to give up her claim to the throne of England, and no Frenchman was to hold important office in the kingdom. So noteworthy a victory, involving so keen a humiliation for France, would seem to have been won by combined English and Scottish prowess, but in reality the victory was due to the matchless diplomacy of Cecil, to Philip II's jealousy of France, to the death of Mary of Lorraine during the struggle, to a revolt of the Huguenots in the tumult of Ambroise, which embarrassed the French government at home, and to the loss of a French naval armament, the arrival of which might have postponed Protestant success. When the English army turned back and, as has been well said, for the first time in history marched out of Scotland and left gratitude behind, it had accomplished a great and important work. It had replaced the old hostility with a new friendship, and inasmuch as at last alliance with England had become synonymous with Protestantism, the development of a common patriotism might naturally result.

Scotland now completed her victory by giving official form to the faith that for the moment at least was in control. A solemn

service of thanksgiving was held in the church of St. Giles, and later John Knox was placed in charge of the principal congregation in Edinburgh. In August a great parliament met which abolished the Roman Church within the realm, and when the preachers in assembly petitioned for the establishment of the Protestant religion, bade them " draw in plain and several heads the sum of that doctrine which they would maintain and would desire that present parliament to establish as wholesome, true, and only necessarie to be believed and received." From this bidding came the confession of faith for Scotland, drafted by John Knox and his fellow preachers, and passed with little opposition by the almost unanimous vote of the largest parliamentary body that up to this time had met in Scotland. This confession defined the religion of the country, and the parliamentary body that adopted it was the first in which the burgesses and the smaller barons met and voted freely. A Scottish constitution and a Scottish religion were taking shape at the same time. Of the two the religious organization was the stronger, and the claim frequently advanced in the writings of Knox was expressed in an often quoted address which the reformer Andrew Melville made at a later time to him whom he called " God's sillie vassal," James VI. "And therefore, sir, as divers times before, so now again, I may tell you, there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland. There is Jesus Christ the king and his kingdom the kirk, whose subject King James the Sixth is and of whose kingdom not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member." And Melville was right. There was no power in the land that could cope with the church.

Thus in that famous year 1560 was the Knoxian reformation established. No country in Europe had accepted the new teaching at so small an expense of bloodshed or so slight an opposition from the clergy of the old faith. The form adopted was that most remote from the doctrines of Rome — the system of Calvin, which, because of its legal and logical exactness, its barren simplicity, freedom from ceremonial, elaborate organization and equipment appeal to the Scottish practical sense and instinct for thriftiness. The thoroughness with which the movement was effected left no room for quarrels over surplices and altars, vest-

ments, crucifixes, and candles, as was the case with Puritanism in England, at least until the grandson of Mary Stuart tried to force upon Scotland the Laudian prayer-book and the Episcopal order in 1637. But the Book of Discipline which defined the organization and government of the church and provided for the distribution of the old church lands among the new church clergy — a despoliation of ecclesiastical property which Knox ardently advocated — was not accepted so willingly, and after long and acrimonious debate the clergy were allowed to retain their livings. Unanimity prevailed as long as the question was one of creed only; when it touched vested property harmony disappeared, even in Scotland.

No sooner had the Knoxian settlement been reached than the political situation underwent another change. On December 5, 1560, when Francis II died, Mary Stuart ceased to be queen of France, and the supremacy of the Guises was broken. But Mary was Queen of Scots, and to Scotland it was now her duty to return to face the work of her subjects in transforming the religious condition of Scotland, a transformation which she denounced with passion. The Scottish lords and preachers might well look with apprehension to her return, for they had been doing many things for which they had no legal warrant. Mary, their queen, had never ratified the treaty of Edinburgh; she had never consented that a parliament might meet, disestablish one church and set up another, nor had she ever confirmed the acts of 1560, accepting the Confession of Faith. Mary was a loyal adherent of the old faith and there could be little doubt that in the country at large she could find support among nobles, barons, and commons for her cause. The religious settlements both in England and in Scotland were the work of governments and not of the people, and probably at this time, in both countries, a majority of the population was in sympathy with the ritual and teaching of the old church. Knox and his party might well be fearful for the future, for should Mary of Scots prove a vigorous, cautious, and patient enemy, with half the shrewdness and diplomacy of her English cousin Elizabeth, there might be another overturning in Scotland, and a reëstablished Catholic church might be erected on the ruins of a destroyed Protestant-

ism. The Confession of Faith and the Book of Discipline were in peril, and the years from 1561 to 1567 are important, not only as giving us the tragedy of Mary Stuart, but as determining the character of the last phase of the religious struggle in Scotland.

Across the sombre background of a Knoxian reformation is now thrown the light of a fascinating historical character. Mary Queen of Scots, but nineteen years of age, had already received a training in the court of France, which had sharpened her wit, given her unusual charm and grace of manner, and taught her some of the arts of duplicity. On August 19, 1561, she landed in Scotland — a terrible country for the young girl, a land of feuds and treason, implacable wraths and a no less implacable religion; where men awaited her coming who hated her house and her creed and deemed her but an agent of the Pope and the Guises for the destruction of the church, the foundation of which had been so recently laid. Could Mary have deemed Edinburgh worth a sermon, as Henry IV deemed Paris worth a mass, her path would have been less thorny and her place in Scotland more secure; but to her credit be it said, she was loyal to her faith and her church. As a daughter of the Guises she had a mission to perform, and she came to Scotland firm in her determination, not only to win Scotland to the cause of Catholicism, but also to obtain for herself the crown of England and so to bring both kingdoms into the fold of the church. To conciliate her own people and so to lull Scotland into a feeling of security, to obtain from the English Queen and parliament a recognition of her claim to the English throne and so to prepare the way for her own succession when the time should come, were the two preliminary steps to be taken before her great purpose could be accomplished, and to which all else was secondary. Could Mary Queen of Scots have bent her passions to her will as successfully as she controlled her dislike of Scottish Presbyterianism she might have won the nobility of Scotland to her side and have neutralized the influence of John Knox. The time was critical, not only for Knox's reformation, but also for Elizabeth's Anglican Settlement, for neither can be said to have been permanently established in 1561, when Mary landed in Scotland. Elizabeth had Catholic plots and Spanish Armadas still ahead, while the Knoxian order,

without certain legal right to exist and numbers of important questions of titles, kirk-lands, and advowsons still unsettled, had yet to weather the strategy of a lawful queen, who, according to the ideas of the time, had entire right to control the religion of the country.

For three years Mary Stuart governed Scotland with remarkable shrewdness and tact, accepting the Protestant religion, checking attempts at Catholic worship, protecting the old clergy in their possession of their lands, and demanding for herself the right to hear mass in the royal chapel. Though John Knox thundered at such idolatries from his pulpit in Edinburgh and declared that a single mass was worse than ten thousand invaders come to suppress the true religion, Mary held to her privilege, hoping that in time it might be a wedge splitting asunder the Protestant order. Mary, thinking to win him to her side, sent for Knox, and in the first of many interviews displayed a courtly bearing and ready wit and a knowledge beyond her years. Knox answered her in sermons not always respectful to his sovereign. He called her church a harlot and likened Mary herself to the devil; he upheld the right of subjects to resist their princes, thus setting his face against the doctrine laid down at Augsburg. To Knox, Mary had "a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurat heart"; to Mary the Kirk of Rome was the only true Kirk of God. Between the queen and her stubborn subject there was no chance of compromise. Yet despite the "eternity of threats and lectures" which she suffered from Knox, despite the "tyranny of the pulpiteers" which took form each Sunday in sermons and prayers, despite "clerical dictation" at every turn of her policy, Mary held her own, winning moderates to her side, lulling the people, and gaining their confidence until that fatal day when the problem that every unmarried queen has to solve, a difficulty which Elizabeth alone, by remaining unmarried, had met with entire satisfaction, the problem of a husband, had to be faced and solved.

In an age when governmental policy in political and religious matters was controlled by the sovereign prince, marriage was a factor of more than sentimental interest. With Mary it was a matter of extraordinary difficulty, for where could she find a

husband of adequate rank, marriage with whom would not endanger her carefully laid scheme? Don Carlos of Spain was proposed, but not only did Knox denounce such an alliance, but Elizabeth declared that a union with a Habsburg either in Spain or Germany, would be construed as hostile to herself. Marriage with a prince of France would have alienated Mary's Catholic supporters in England, and marriage with a Protestant prince was out of the question. Only one solution was possible, and though that promised to arouse the jealousy of her Scottish allies Mary accepted it as agreeable to herself and in the highest degree favorable to the cause which she had at heart. On July 29, 1565, she married her cousin, Lord Darnley, a Roman Catholic, a naturalized Englishman, and next to Mary herself, heir to the throne of Scotland. This marriage to a member of the powerful house of Lennox emancipated Mary from the control of the Protestant lords, seemed to give cohesion and unity to the Catholic party in Scotland, and placed her in a position to deal Protestantism a series of powerful blows. She drove her brother Moray into England, suppressed a Protestant rebellion against her in the Roundabout raid, raised her strongest supporter, Bothwell, though a Protestant, to the lieutenancy of the southern marchés, restored Catholic lords to important offices, and sent word to the Pope that she would soon complete the ruin of her opponents. The times were favorable. The Council of Trent had completed its work; Catholicism was winning in France, and a league of the Catholic powers was forming for the suppression of heresy. Mary seemed to be on the eve of a great triumph, and should victory rest with Catholicism in Scotland, what might not be the result for England!

Now begins the tragedy of Mary Queen of Scots. The marriage which promised to inaugurate a triumph proved to be an instrument dragging the unhappy queen to her ruin, — a ruin the history of which has never ceased to interest mankind, not only by reason of the intensely human elements of which it is compounded and of the alluring magnetism of a woman's passionate nature, but also by reason of the mystery which it involves, the mystery of Mary Stuart. The vain, vicious, empty-headed Darnley proved not only the evil genius of the queen, but the

evil genius of the Catholic Church in Scotland. Caring nothing for the cause which Mary had at heart, he conspired with Protestant lords for the murder of Riccio, Mary's secretary, believed by Darnley and the lords to be the inspirer of Mary's policy. This brutal murder disclosed and made notorious Mary's unhappy relations with her husband, and rendered conciliation difficult, but its sinister effects were neutralized for the moment by the birth and baptism of a son, who, she seemed to feel, would realize all her hopes. It is a suggestive fact that the child whose birth seemed to promise the perpetuation of Catholic rule in Scotland caused Elizabeth in England to complain bitterly that she was of barren stock while the Queen of Scots had given birth to a fair son, was destined thirty-seven years later as a Protestant king to unite indissolubly the two kingdoms of Scotland and England.

From the day of the baptism, the last and crowning triumph of Mary's career, the great tragedy rushes headlong to its conclusion. With extraordinary indiscretion and reckless disregard of consequences, desperate because of the misery of her marriage, smarting under the invectives of Knox, and in a woman's need of a friend and champion, Mary entered into that fatal alliance with her powerful subject, the ambitious Bothwell, which ended in the murder of Darnley. How far she was privy to the murder, of which Bothwell was the guilty agent, is a question of little historical importance. Her marriage to Bothwell three months after the foul crime was committed was a sufficient proof in the eyes of the Scottish people of her guilt and turned the country against her. Popular indignation at what appeared to be the moral degradation of their queen destroyed the loyalty of her subjects, and disclosed the presence in Scotland of a new moral force emanating, not from the old feudal lords, but from a new middle class of burghers and petty freeholders animated by a religious reformation. It did not need the battles of Carberry Hill and Langside, where Mary made her last and despairing stand against the insurgent lords before her flight into England, to assure the defeat of Mary's ambitious plans for the cause of Catholicism; for after her marriage with Bothwell all hopes of a restoration of the old religion were practically destroyed. A series of official acts confirmed the Protestant victory. Mary was constrained to abdicate her crown in favor of her infant son,

who was crowned at Stirling under Protestant auspices, for John Knox preached the coronation sermon. A parliament confirmed all the acts of 1560, and though for a number of years longer a party of the nobles struggled against the king and the regent in the name of the absent Mary, the great issues involved in the events of the preceding thirty years were already decided.

The downfall of Mary Stuart made possible the victory of the Knoxian reformation and brought to a close the old *régime* in Scotland. In Scottish history Mary stands as the exponent of political principles and religious ideas that were of the past and not of the future. She stood for the supremacy of princes, for the dominance of feudalism, for the rule of the old church, and for the alliance with France, each and all of which to a greater or less extent had been repudiated by the victorious reformers. But the age of Mary is the age of John Knox also, a mighty age of transition, not only in religious thought, but in political and national life also, and in 1572, when John Knox died, he might have said with truth that he had lived to see the new era fairly inaugurated. A new Scotland was emerging from the confusion and narrowness of the Middle Ages; a national feeling was spreading among the middle class burghers and farmers in whose hands lay the future of the kingdom and in whose hearts was implanted the Protestant faith; a new kirk was taking the place of the old church and was maintaining an undivided supremacy not only in matters of religion but in matters of state also, for Scotland accepted no divided allegiance, no counter reformation preserved for the Roman order a Scottish party loyal to itself, and the church never failed to put in force the Knoxian doctrine of the right of subjects to oppose their rulers. Most important of all a new alliance was formed with England, based on common blood and common faith, an alliance never again disturbed by war, of two peoples in a single isle, who were prepared by nature to form a united people and a united kingdom. The era of John Knox prepared the way, not only for the national and religious independence of Scotland, but also for that union of England and Scotland which has made possible the greatness of the British Empire.

Charles M. Andrews.

*Bryn Mawr, Penna.*

# THE LIFE OF JOHN KNOX.

The object of this paper is to present in brief outline the main events in the life of the Scotch Reformer. The conditions in Scotland when he did his work have been placed before you. What his work was, in its different aspects, will be presented by others.

There is uncertainty about the exact place and date of his birth. It seems probable that he was born at Gifford-gate, a suburb of the town of Haddington. It may be that his birthplace was at some other village in this immediate neighborhood. There is no doubt but that he was born in or near Haddington, a town at that time of some importance situated about twenty miles east of Edinburgh. The year of his birth is also uncertain, but 1505 seems to be the most probable date. Some investigators, with good reasons for their opinions, believe that he was born several years later than this, perhaps as late as 1515. This later date has some suport in the fact that when he appears as a reformer he is still a tutor of boys. This was a work generally performed by the younger clergy. If Knox was born in 1505 he was in middle life when he began his career as a Protestant leader. After taking all the facts into consideration the earlier date, 1505, seems more probable. The day and month of his birth are also unknown.

Very little has come down to us about his ancestry. We learn from a passage in the "History of the Reformation" that his ancestors served the Earls of Bothwell for three generations, and that some of them died while fighting under the Bothwell standard. The Knox family belonged to the middle class in Scotch society, so that the Reformer owed nothing of his importance and influence to the accident of birth or fortune. Of his father we only know that his name was William, and a brother of the Reformer bore the same name. This brother became a successful merchant. The mother of John Knox was a Sinclair. There were critical periods in his life, when it was not safe for him to sign his own

name to his letters, and on such occasions he was accustomed to use his mother's family name. These very meagre facts are all that we know positively about the family and ancestry of the great Scotsman. There is a curious reticence in his writings about these matters. They did not seem to him worth much attention, compared with the work which he was doing. This is true of the events of his boyhood and young manhood. We are left in almost total ignorance of the history of the formative period of his life.

Long before the days of the Reformation a monastic school had been established in Haddington. This was changed into a city school, and was already famous for the skill of the masters and the attainments of its pupils. Here Knox received the rudiments of an education. It is probable that he entered the school with the idea of becoming a priest, as the boys of the school were generally destined for the clerical profession. The principal studies were Latin grammar, logic, science, and arithmetic, but of these the first was always considered of the greatest importance. Knox studied here until he was seventeen years old, and then entered the University of Glasgow. It is probable that he selected this institution of learning because John Major was teaching there at the time. Major was a Haddingtonshire man, and one of the most famous teachers of his time. Many of the political views which Knox proclaimed in later life were doubtless obtained from his Glasgow teacher. Aside from the fact that Major was one of his instructors, we are left in the dark as to the details of his university career. That he made good use of the opportunities here offered is evidenced by his scholarly attainments. He is not in the same class with Melanchthon and Calvin in scholarship, but would rank above the average university man of the age, and he remained a student through his life. Like every other educated man of that period he had a good knowledge of Latin. His knowledge of Church History was such that he was able to use it successfully in his later controversial writings. He was, above all, familiar with the Bible, but this familiarity came, not from his university study, but from constant application after he began his career as a reformer. His desire to obtain a mastery of the Bible is shown by the fact that he took up the study of Hebrew after he had reached the age of forty years.

From the year 1522, which was the date of his entering the university, to 1544 we have very few details of his life. At some time in this period he became a priest. We know that this is so only from the fact that a document has been discovered bearing the date 1544, in which he signs himself "John Knox, Minister of the Sacred Altar." Some time after this he appears as the tutor of the sons of Scotch noblemen, and continues in this occupation until he gives himself to the work of the reformation in 1546. From the latter date till his death the details of his life are known with much greater fulness.

Up to the year 1546 there is no intimation that he was not a devoted son of the church. It is hardly possible, however, that he could grow up in Scotland without becoming conscious of the need of a thoroughgoing reform in the lives of his fellow clergymen. In 1546 he came under the influence of George Wishart, who had already begun his reformatory career. Wishart was several years younger than Knox, but the latter quickly became his disciple, influenced by the zeal of the man who was soon to give his life, a martyr to the Scotch reformation. Not only was George Wishart a man of fiery enthusiasm, but he was also a leader of unusual learning and eloquence. He made preaching journeys through Scotland, denouncing the corrupt condition of the clergy and urging the need of a thorough reformation. Many of the nobles as well as multitudes of the common people became converts to his ideas. It was on one of these journeys that he came to East Lothian, and attracted the attention of Knox. It is undoubtedly true that Knox had studied the reform movement before this time, so that he was ready for the message with which Wishart was influencing so many in Scotland. He at once joined himself to the young and enthusiastic reformer, and became one of his most devoted disciples. From the time when these men met the reformation of Scotland became the controlling thought in the mind of Knox. He finally and fervently threw himself into the movement which was to redeem his native country. Knox attended Wishart from place to place as the latter went through the country on his preaching journeys. At this time Cardinal Beaton was the head and evil genius of the church in Scotland, and he considered it his duty to put a stop to the

spread of Protestant teachings. He attempted to do this by capturing Wishart and burning him at the stake at St. Andrews. The Reformer knew what fate was in store for him as he undertook the journey which ended his earthly career.

Knox would have accompanied his leader, but Wishart refused to allow him to do so, believing that one life was enough and that Knox would be needed for the future redemption of Scotland. Five of the followers of Wishart avenged the murder of their leader by the assassination of Cardinal Beaton. These men took refuge in the castle of St. Andrews, where they were quickly joined by others. In the disturbed condition of the country there were many people who had reason to believe that the government would like to capture them. The strong castle of St. Andrews became a rallying point for the hunted and discontented. Among this number were the parents of the young men who had been taught by Knox. At their request Knox withdrew to the castle with his pupils, that he might continue to instruct them. Many of the refugees were men who were interested in the religious controversies then raging, and they desired a teacher and preacher. Their attention was called to the qualifications which Knox possessed for such work. Knox gives us an account of his method of instruction which he used with the young men who were his pupils. He says: "Besides their grammar and other human authors he read unto them a catechism, account whereof he caused them to give publicly in the parish church of St. Andrews. He read moreover unto them the Evangel of John, and this lecture he read in the chapel within the castle at a certain hour." There happened to be in this company at St. Andrews an uneducated but earnest preacher by the name of John Rough. He desired to have Knox preach, but the latter refused because he did not believe that God had called him to that office. Rough made a strong appeal to him in the course of a sermon, urging Knox to recognize the divine call. After much prayer and hesitation the future reformer consented. There was no regular ordination to the ministry. He regarded the choice of the congregation and the divine call as sufficient warrant for him to enter upon the work of the ministry. This was a characteristic of his later activity. He did not regard the laying on of hands

as a matter of serious importance. He was at once recognized as the leader of the little company at St. Andrews, and when he preached his first sermon some of the listeners remarked, " Others lop off the branches of the papacy, but he strikes at the root to destroy the whole. If the doctors and our masters defend not now the Pope and his authority the Devil haye my part of him and his laws likewise." This novel pastorate was brought to a sudden close by the surrender of the fort to the French fleet which had besieged St. Andrews. The captives were promised liberty, but instead of this they were separated from each other and compelled to undergo a long confinement in the French prisons and galleys.

Knox now entered upon a period of his life to which he makes little reference, and whenever he does it is in a way that showed something of the intensity of his suffering. For nineteen months he was a slave in a French galley, toiling at the oars. He speaks of his captivity in these words: " How long I continued prisoner, what torment I sustained in the galleys, and what were the sobs of my heart it is now no time to repeat." The French captors did not neglect the opportunity to attempt to bring these heretic Scots back to the mother church, but these efforts were without success. Knox relates an incident which happened during the first winter of his captivity, while the galley was in the Loire near the city of Nantes. He does not so state, but it is very probable that the chief actor in the incident was himself: An image of the virgin was brought to the prisoners, in order that they might kiss it; but one of the Scotchmen refused, whereupon the prisoner took the idol and cast it into the river, saying, " Let the Lady now save herself; she is light enough. Let her learn to swim."

Knox always believed strongly that he would some time be delivered. On one occasion the galley visited the coast of Scotland and came in sight of the castle of St. Andrews, in which he had begun his work as a preacher, and there he uttered the prophecy that he should not depart this life until he should preach again in the same place. It is evident that he was at times given greater liberty than that which is ordinarily enjoyed by galley slaves. We come to this conclusion because he was in correspondence with

his friends, and, also, because he had time and opportunity to read and study Henry Balnaves' " Treatise on Justification by Faith." He made an abstract of this work, which he sent to his friends in Scotland.

Because of political changes in England and France after the accession of Edward VI to the throne of England, Knox gained his freedom, early in 1549, probably at the request of the English king. It was his desire to return to Scotland and again take up the work which had been interrupted by his captivity, but conditions in his native land were such that his return would have been quickly followed by his death. These conditions continued much the same for ten years. His heart was with his struggling fellow-countrymen, but his work during this period had to be elsewhere. This decade, from 1549 to 1559, was given to the work of the Reformation in England and the Continent. The first half of this time was spent as a minister in the Church of England. This seems very strange to us now, that the father of Scotch Presbyterianism should labor successfully for five years in connection with the English Church. But this connection seems less remarkable when we remember that the established church in England during the reign of Edward the Sixth was in a state of transition. Some of the forms and ceremonies which became fixed by law in the reign of Elizabeth were at this time optional. For example, the use of the prayer book was not obligatory, neither was kneeling at the communion. Archbishop Cranmer desired above everything else to advance the Reformation in England, and he did not hesitate to make use of good men wherever he could find them, even if they did not agree with him on questions of forms and ceremonies.

Knox was first appointed preacher at Berwick, where he labored for two years. After this he went to Newcastle. In 1551 he was appointed one of the six chaplains in ordinary to the king. It was the custom for two of these chaplains to remain at court while the other four were ministers at large, preaching throughout England wherever there was special need of their services. It was part of the work of Knox while occupying this position of chaplain to the king to assist in the preparation of the Book of Common Prayer, and it is due to him that the Rubric was inserted, which

explained that by the act of kneeling at the reception of the sacrament no adoration of the elements was intended.

At one time his appointment to the Bishopric of Rochester was discussed, and it was probably due to his own unwillingness to conform fully to the usages of the Church of England that he did not accept this position. In 1553 he was offered the appointment to the office of Vicar of All-Hallows Church, in Bread Street, London. This offer was also declined, probably for the same reasons. For refusing to accept this position he was called before the Privy Council and asked certain questions. His answers to these questions are interesting, because they show us his views on certain points in dispute at that time. The first question was why he refused the London Benifice which had been provided for him. To this he answered that he thought that he might work to better advantage in some other place than London. The second question was whether he thought that no Christian might serve in the ecclesiastical ministrations according to the rites and laws of the realm of England, to which he answered that many things were worthy of reformation in England, without the reformation whereof no minister did discharge or could discharge his conscience before God. A third question was whether kneeling at the Lord's Table was not indifferent. His answer in substance was that Christ did not kneel and that it was most sure to follow His example, whose action was done sitting and not kneeling.

In spite of these departures from the custom of the church Knox continued his ministry in the Church of England during the reign of Edward VI and into the reign of Mary Tudor. The Catholic reaction became so strong in England that Protestants were no longer safe in Mary's realm, and in March, 1554, following the example of many other Protestants, Knox went to the Continent for safety. He journeyed through France and Switzerland, and came to Geneva, the home of Calvin and the refuge of persecuted protestants from all parts of Europe. After a short stay in Geneva, he passed on to Zurich for a consultation with Bullinger, who stood in very close relation to the English reformers in the reign of Edward VI. He went to Dieppe, and then returned to Geneva, where he passed the summer. In the

autumn of the same year Knox became the pastor of the English Church at Frankfort. This city was a favorite place for the gathering of the English refugees, one reason for this being the liberal attitude of the city government. A church was granted the English for their worship on the single condition that they should subscribe to the French confession of faith. This was not a serious drawback, because they were to be allowed to use the English order of service with the omission of parts which were considered superstitious. This condition of affairs suited Knox, because the parts omitted were those to which he objected. But there was immediately opposition. A party arose which demanded the use of the unaltered Prayer Book. A controversy broke out which led, in March, 1555, to his resignation. He thereupon returned to Geneva and accepted an invitation to become one of the pastors of the English-speaking church in that city.

In the summer of this year he returned to Scotland, where he remained nine months and assisted greatly in promoting the Reformation there. He preached in different parts of the country, and powerfully influenced many of the nobles as well as the common people. But the leaders of the Catholic Church were alarmed at the success of his work, and ordered him to appear at the Blackfriars Kirk in Edinburgh. He obeyed the command, but attended the meeting accompanied by so many of his powerful supporters that the proceedings against him were stopped.

After working in Scotland for nine months he returned to the church of which he was one of the pastors in Geneva, and the Catholic party in Scotland condemned him as a heretic and burned him in effigy. Knox continued minister of the English Church in Geneva for three years, and these were the happiest years of his life. Calvin was supreme in the Swiss republic, and Geneva seemed to Knox the most nearly perfect city on the earth. This peaceful pastorate was brought to an end by the arrival of the opportunity for which Knox was always waiting, the opportunity to preach the Gospel unhindered in his beloved Scotland. Messengers came to him from his native land, who informed him that the way was open for spreading the Reformation, and that persecution was diminishing. In response to their invitation he left Geneva and returned to Edinburgh, reaching the latter city in

May, 1559. From that time to the day of his death his work can not be separated from the Scotch reformatory movement. He is the heart and soul of it. We may only notice some of the events in which he was most directly concerned.

In 1560 the Reformed Religion was established by law, and in this same year Knox became minister of the Church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, the most important ecclesiastical position in Protestant Scotland. During the civil war he was the trusted adviser of the Lords of the Congregation on religious and political affairs alike. His numerous interviews with Mary Stuart form an interesting episode in a very busy life. The stern reformer and the fascinating queen seemed to have a strange attraction for each other, but neither would submit to the other. Knox continued to preach against the mass, which Mary persisted in having celebrated in her presence. In 1563 the reformer was arrested on charge of treason, but as there was no foundation for the accusation he was quickly released. He had no patience with Mary's matrimonial ventures, and denounced them in terms more vigorous than polite. In the long contest Knox was finally victorious over the queen, due to some extent to Mary's rashness and lack of discretion. His life was a continuous strife against the religious and political evil of his time and country and an equally sustained effort to establish and maintain Protestantism. It was his good fortune to live long enough to see the faith for which he so long contended fully established. In the year 1570 he suffered from a stroke of apoplexy. After this he was much weaker, but still continued to preach. He never fully recovered from this attack, and died on November 24, 1572, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, worn out by his life of intense activity.

Knox was twice married. His first wife was Marjory Bowles, to whom he was probably united in 1553. There were two sons born to them, of whom one became a clergyman of the Church of England. Knox was left a widower in 1560, and married again in 1564. He had at that time attained the age of fifty-nine, and his new bride was a girl of sixteen. In spite of the difference in their ages, they seem to have lived happily together. Three daughters were born to them, all of whom survived their father.

As one would expect of a man who was the center and leader

of a great religious and political controversy, Knox was a prolific writer. His collected works fill six large volumes. The best known and most valuable writing is his "History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland." The one which caused him most trouble was "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Woman." This was an attack directed against Mary of Guise and Mary Tudor, then reigning respectively in Scotland and England. He tried in vain to explain the book to the satisfaction of Elizabeth and Mary Stuart, but did not succeed in doing so and never changed his opinion on the subject.

A final word about the character of the Scotch reformer. He was narrow, and in many ways resembled a prophet of the Old Testament period; but in a supremely selfish age he was unselfish. He could so clearly discern the character of others, and was such a close student of the progress of events that his insight was often taken for prophecy. More than any one else, he marked the Scotch reformation with his own characteristics. Richard Ballantyne, the companion of his closing days, gave the Scotch estimate of Knox when he called him "The light of Scotland, the comfort of the church within the same, the mirror of Godliness, the pattern and example to all true ministers in purity of life and soundness of doctrine." We close with the estimate of the reformer given by the Earl of Morton over the open grave in St. Giles churchyard: "Here lies one who never feared the face of man."

CURTIS M. GEER.

*Hartford, Conn.*

# JOHN KNOX'S CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICA.

To endeavor to indicate with any measure of exactness the nature and extent of America's indebtedness to the great Scottish reformer would be indeed rash, for it should be borne in mind that great as Knox was, powerful and wide-reaching as was the influence which he exerted upon the people of his day, that day antedated by a full century the period of successful European settlement on these shores. A passing glance at the chronology of events will strikingly reveal that Knox's remoteness from America in point of years was even greater than that measured by the leagues of ocean which lay between the eastern and western hemispheres. When John Knox was born, in 1505, — the date accepted by the majority of critics, — Christopher Columbus was still living, and Amerigo Vespucci had returned from his last voyage of exploration to the New World only the year before. Even the name "America" can hardly have been known to him, for it was not until he had lain many years in his grave that it began to be generally applied to the newly discovered continents far to the westward. The year 1542, a year of supreme eventfulness in the life of Knox, as marking his final abandonment of the Old Faith and full avowal of the Protestant belief, was the same which saw the unsuccessful termination of Cartier's repeated attempts to lay the foundations of a new French dominion in the valley of the St. Lawence;* the same, also, which witnessed the return of the straggling remnant of De Soto's ill-starred expedition into the interior, after having consigned to the slimy embrace of the Father of Waters the body of their disappointed chieftain. The stirring events which attended Knox's return to Scotland, the adoption by the Scottish Parliament of a Reform Confession of Faith, and the calling of the first General Assembly, all occurring in the year 1560, impressively attest the high state of Scotland's preparedness for the work which her great leader

* Hakluyt, *Voyages*, XIII, 163-168.

was to do, and thus explain in no small measure the amazing thoroughness and lightning-like rapidity which characterized the demolition of the old religious régime. It brings the history of those days a little closer home to us to recall that the political and religious strife, of which it was so full, had its miniature, but by no means mild, counterpart on the shores of virgin America, being contemporaneous with the bloody enactments by which the Spanish Catholics, under the leadership of Menendez, put an effectual end to the little colony of French Protestants which had taken up its abode on the banks of the St. John's River, Florida. It was not until a whole generation had elapsed after the death of Knox that the first permanent foothold was gained by any considerable body of Anglo-Saxons on the coast of North America.

It is obvious, therefore, that by the inexorable force of circumstances we are precluded from supposing that John Knox exerted any direct influence on the life and institutions of the American people. Such contribution as he has made to the general fund of our ideas and practices is of that subtle, unascertainable sort which every man, according to the measure of his greatness and worth, bequeaths to the world after he is gone. Futile, therefore, as would be the attempt to reach any clear or exact analysis of the results of such an influence, it would at the same time be a serious error for that reason to conclude that it is of negligible significance, or of a character so indeterminate as to make it an unprofitable subject for careful and serious study.

From these general reflections as to the nature of the theme under discussion, it will readily appear that no small degree of latitude must be allowed in its presentation. The underlying purpose will be to indicate, in the most general way, the wide historic lines along which the influence of Knox has flowed, dealing more especially with such matters of external fact as constitute the necessary basis of that more real but elusive potentiality which we would fain measure and describe.

Few will feel disposed to question the assertion that whatever contribution John Knox has made to America has been made chiefly through the members of his own race, as they have come to us from time to time and merged their lives in the common life of

the growing republic. It is to the Scottish immigrant that we must look, first of all, in our search for a definitive answer of the question before us. This becomes very clear the moment we call to remembrance what John Knox really was to his own land. To few of the world's great ones has ever been granted such mastery over the hearts and lives of their countrymen, such power to make and mould, for good or ill, as was given unto Knox. It is clearly within the truth to say that he was in a very real sense the maker of that brave and brawny race which shortly after the completion of his reform work, under the stress of a hostile and persecuting government, began to issue from their native heaths and vales, all intent upon the one thing, — the quest of some spot where they might be free to render a peaceful and untrammeled obedience to those new views and ideals of life and religion which he had taught them. The stream of emigration then begun has never ceased, though the conditions which supplied the initial impulse did not long endure. Many are the peoples and nations that have been enriched by it, — none more than this land of ours, for it is here that the Scotch have come in greatest number.

A rapid scanning of those pages of our nation's story wherein is found the record of the arrival and final distribution of these people, is the first logical step toward the elucidation of our theme. It will be found, however, that broad as is this method of treatment, it is not broad enough to escape all difficulty; for many difficulties arise, whether the aim be to trace the course in the nation's life of this particular strain of European blood or to follow the influence and out-working of certain principles here transplanted. In any case we are painfully dependent on the work of the chronicler, and it must be confessed that his weaknesses and shortcomings are many and baffling. Humbly thankful as we are for the splendid heritage left us by our pioneer forefathers, we can with difficulty suppress the rising wish that to the many Christian virtues which adorned their plain lives they had added also the grace of greater faithfulness and industry in the keeping of their note-books. Their exceeding negligence in the matter of immigration statistics is the particular sin which we have found hardest to forgive. What we know concerning the origin and nature of the peoples who early sought asylum in America is de-

rived from such scraps of information as have come down to us. It remains to be said, however, that the study of this fragmentary material casts considerable light on the hand which the various European peoples have had in the rearing of our nation.

Nations differ in much the same way as do persons. Each is possessed of a certain individuality which marks it off from every other, an individuality which connotes the possession of certain characteristic ruling ideas. Whence came these ideas is the puzzling and important question which confronts the historian, and which he resolutely sets himself to determine. For the American historian the question is an especially perplexing one, for the origin of our people cannot be traced to any one fountain head. Our nationality is manifestly the result of a multitude of converging streams which for two hundred and more years have mingled their floods in the ever-widening expanse of the common life of a great free people. The blending and fusion of races that has taken place adds much to the complexity of the problem before us. Fortunately, however, the trail of the Scot is in a way more easily followed than that of any other immigrant, for however careless and neglectful he may be regarding the preservation of family traditions the inherent force of his character is such that he leaves behind the unmistakable evidence of his presence wherever he goes. A permanent record of the course of his migration appears today in the easily recognized Scotch names of a goodly number of our cities and towns. Let it not be inferred from this, however, that the case is perfectly simple. The very superiority of the Scot which has been hinted at, a superiority which Professor Shaler briefly sums up as "a singular capacity for rising in the world . . . capacity for independent and well-directed action,"* has tended strongly to obscure his movements in that it has conspired to make him the least gregariously inclined of all our immigrants. His rare ability to adapt himself to the most varying conditions of life goes far to explain the Scot's, especially the Lowland Scot's, remarkable independence of action in the selection and location of his home. His policy has been to strike out alone, select his garden-spot, and establish his hearthstone, sublimely regardless of the plans or preferences of others of his own

* *The Scotch Element in the American People.*— Atlantic Monthly, LXXVII, p. 509.

kin and country. Possessed, therefore, of little of the colonizing instinct, he has inclined speedily to merge himself in the heterogeneous mass of the population, to the serious embarrassment of all who try to follow out the lines of his history.

When the English, French, Dutch, and others emigrated to America, they established themselves for the most part in separate settlements and colonies; and taking these localities as starting points we have little trouble in tracing the subsequent migration of their descendants as they set out in quest of richer fields and broader outlooks beyond the Alleghanies. But with the few exceptions that prove the rule, a fundamental characteristic of the Scotch immigrant has been his absolute independence of action, not to say solitariness, so far as the members of his own race are concerned. Now this fact is of prime importance in the consideration of America's indebtedness to the Scotch, for we thus see the immediate and thorough manner in which they have incorporated themselves in the life of the people. The leaven of their blood has gone into every channel of the nation's life, and its virility and resourcefulness are more widely operative and potent than we commonly recognize or suspect.

When Knox landed in Scotland, on this final return (1559), the hour appointed by Providence for the accomplishment of a religious reform had fully come. The pent-up fires of religious unrest and resentfulness over wrongs long suffered at the hands of both civil and spiritual lords burst forth with startling fury the moment he set foot upon his native soil. In an incredibly brief space of time, under his masterful leadership, the Old Romish worship was abolished and the Reformation firmly established in its place. The religious regeneration of the Lowlands was complete. A generation later (1592), through Knox's associate, Andrew Melville, the Calvinistic doctrine and Presbyterian polity were officially established.

It is at this point, or shortly thereafter, that the story of Scotch influence in America properly begins, — in the attempt of James I and his successors of the house of Stuart to force Episcopacy on Scotland. The persecutions resorted to by the civil authorities to carry out this purpose drove multitudes from their homes to seek refuge in new and strange lands. Many of

these refugees crossed the channel and took up their abode in the Province of Ulster, Ireland, attracted thither, in part, by the inducements which King James held out for the repeopling of that beautiful land so recently laid waste by his conquering armies.

The year 1609 marks the commencement of the migration of Lowland Scots to northern Ireland, a movement which resulted in the creation of a new type of Scotchmen, the "Scotch-Irish," or "Presbyterian Irish," as they are less frequently called. But before treating of the Scotch-Irish it is our duty to correct the very prevalent misconception as to the meaning of this hyphenated term. It does not mean a mixture of Scotch and Irish blood. It is the term applied to the descendants of the Scotch people who settled in Ireland. They were, and throughout their sojourn in Ireland remained, essentially a Scotch race, modified somewhat by their new environment and by the political and religious movements in which they shared. There were many considerations which combined to prevent the establishment, to any extent, of blood relationships between them and the Irish. They were to a man Presbyterians of the most aggressive and uncompromising type, in whose veins flowed the blood of John Knox and the heroes of Marston Moor. They have ever clung with steadfast loyalty to the sturdy Protestant tenets of their great teacher: denial of the divine right of kings; maintenance of the supremacy of the individual conscience; and, boldest and most revolutionary of all, his assertion that ultimate authority in both civil and religious affairs rests with the people.

Prosperity attended the Scotch exiles in Ulster, and no sooner was this brought to the knowledge of the home government than its arm was stretched out to oppress them. They were denied any voice or vote in the local government; the validity of their religious rites was called in question; their success in manufacture and trade provoked the envy and hostility of the English merchants, and led to the imposition of such a multitude of restrictions as robbed honest toil of its fair reward. Little wonder was it that under these circumstances the deep-seated independence of the Scottish nature should assert itself, and that at the expiration of a hundred years residence in Ireland they should find in their hearts

little real attachment for the land of their sojourn; that they should cease longer to think of it as their permanent abode, and should yield to the alluring influences which were tempting so many of their co-religionists at this time in Scotland, England, and the Continent to seek a home in the western world.

Beginning with the year 1720 the Scotch-Irish came to America in successive swarms, settling mainly in New York, New Jersey, Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and the upper regions of Pennsylvania. For some reason they were not attracted by New England. The reputation for religious intolerance which the Puritans had acquired may afford some explanation of this.

No trustworthy statistics are available as to the number of Scotch-Irish who came to America in colonial times, but if the number of Scotch and Irish names is a safe criterion the aggregate must have been large. Philadelphia and Charleston were the two principal ports of arrival. Wending their way westward they halted not until they reached the foothills of the broad triplicate range comprised of the Blue Ridge, Alleghany, and Great Smoky Mountains, which, paralleling the Atlantic coast-line a few hundred miles inland, extends from southern New York to northern Georgia. Deflected from their westward course by this great natural barrier, both streams of immigration — the one from Philadelphia and the other from Charleston — slowly distributed their floods along the deep valleys which lie between the high mountain ranges. Here, on the outskirts of civilization, these people erected their cabins, and became the progenitors of that "peculiar and characteristically American people," the backwoodsmen of the Appalachians, whom President Roosevelt so justly lauds for the heroic services they have rendered to this country. "Full credit," he remarks, "has been awarded the Roundhead and the Cavalier for their leadership in our history, nor have we been altogether blind to the deeds of the Hollander and the Huguenot; but it is doubtful if we have wholly realized the importance of the part played by that stern and virile people, the Irish whose preachers taught the creed of Knox and Calvin. The Irish representatives of the Covenanters were in the west almost what the Puritans were in the northeast, and more than the Cavaliers were in the south. Mingled with the descendants of many other races,

they nevertheless formed the kernel of the distinctively and intensely American stock who were the pioneers of our people in their march westward, the vanguard of the army of fighting settlers, who with axe and rifle won their way from the Alleghanies to the Rio Grande and the Pacific."*

Wherever these people have gone, the communities they have formed have proved the most law-abiding, industrious, and progressive that we have. No other nationality can exhibit a more impressive array of those virtues, social and civic, which are essential to the making of a high type of citizenship. Everywhere they take rank among the most intelligent, moral, self-respecting, and independent class of our population.

That passionate love of freedom which led them to seek a home in the wildest portions of America, undeterred by any consideration of the hardships which the forests held in store for them, unabashed by the formidable terrors of their primeval glooms, was not a thing that they had suddenly acquired in the land of their adoption. They brought it with them over the sea. It was but the manifestation here of that spirit which in their home-land found such frequent expression in acts of rebellion against the tyranny of the government. As to how far this Scottish love of liberty deserves to be regarded as a racial characteristic, and how far it is attributable to influences that can be traced, is perhaps perilous to say. It seems highly probable, however, that the thoroughgoing democracy which lay at the heart of Knox's teaching had much to do with it. But whatever the explanation offered, the fact itself is one of profound significance in its relation to American history. For, as Bancroft tells us, "The first public voice in America for dissolving all connection with Great Britain came, not from the Puritans of New England, the Dutch of New York, nor the planters of Virginia, but from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians."* His reference is to the celebrated Mecklenburg Declaration. The conspicuous part played by the Scotch-Irish in the American struggle for independence has furnished a theme for many writers; and their success in all departments of public and private life, in

* *Winning of the West*, I, p. 102.
* Cf. Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, V, p. 304.

church and state, in education, literature, journalism, and law, has been made the subject of such frequent comment that allusion to it here would be superfluous.

Let it not be inferred from this somewhat extended reference to Scotch-Irish immigration that we are disposed to regard as of subordinate importance the large body of Scots who came to America directly from their own land. A comparison of the numerical strength of the two streams of immigration, — Ulster and Caledonian, — were the data for such a comparison available, would be of little profit, for both streams have flowed along practically the same lines and have become in large measure interfused. Through both the influence of John Knox has filtrated into the thought and life of America, and any attempt to decide which has been the more important medium of that influence would be clearly invidious.

In attempting to estimate the share which the Scottish people have had in the making of our nation, it would be a serious omission not to allude to the part they have taken in its material development, especially when we consider that whatever rightful claim America has acquired thus far to preëminence among the nations is best expressed, perhaps, in terms of material accomplishment. Strange as it may seem, in no sphere of our national life is the ascendency of the Scot more conspicuously manifest than in the business sphere. You have only to run over in your mind the mammoth commercial enterprises so characteristic of our life and age, and note the men who are their guiding spirits, to be thoroughly convinced on this point. It will be found that in the management and direction of these great business concerns our Scotch friends are surprisingly numerous. Interesting particulars might be brought forward in support of this point, but the Scottish names of a large number of our great magnates of industry, trade, and finance, sufficiently attest the fact.

We pass now to the consideration of what seems to us the most important and determinative of all those conditions in the life of the Scottish immigrant which have made him such a positive factor in the history of the American people — the unusual educational advantages which he enjoyed in his native land, owing to the early installation there of a system of public schools

which made it possible, even compulsory, for every likely lad, rich or poor, to equip himself for future honorable service to society and the state. We are decidedly of the opinion that the high grade of popular intelligence, which resulted as the direct fruit of that system, is the fact above all others which best explains the profound and far-reaching influence of the Scot on our national life and character. And there is especial pertinency in dwelling on this point in this connection, for the reason that Scotland's debt to John Knox is hardly more religious than educational in its nature. Knox was the founder of that system of popular education which has made Scotland world-famous, and the Scotchman an honored leader everywhere. "His lofty educational ideals and his labors to realize them," says a careful writer on education,* "have affected the very foundations of the national life and character." It was Knox's eminence and success as a teacher that first won for him public recognition. The writer just quoted declares that "As a clear-headed organizer of a system of education almost perfect in its plan, showing a conception of the worth of a liberal training and a method of extending this education to all who are worthy of it, he stands centuries in advance of his time." To few men has such a splendid opportunity for public service presented itself as came to John Knox, when in 1560 Parliament commissioned him, with four associates, to prepare a "Boke of Discipline" for the Scottish Church. About one-fifth of this famous document, essentially religious in its purpose and character, is given up to the outlines of a scheme of national education surpassing in the thoroughness and liberality of its provisions anything which the world had previously known. Of this John Knox was the author, and to the close of his life the earnest and patriotic advocate. The plan, to state it in brief, provided for a system of universal education as the necessary safeguard of a religion founded on the right of private judgment. Every parish was to have a school; every important town, an academy; these academies to be the feeders of the three universities then in existence in Scotland — St. Andrews, Aberdeen, and Glasgow. All children, whether of wealthy or indigent parents, were to be compelled to attend

* M. S. Kistlar, *Education*, XIX 105.

school, the state to make all necessary provision for the children of the poor. Provision was also made for careful, systematic supervision of the schools. The first six years of the child's life were to be spent in the grammar school, four more in the academy or college, at the expiration of which period, if his attainments and capacity for future study seemed to warrant it, he was to be promoted to the department of his choice in the university, where final honors awaited him in law, medicine, or theology. Knox's program included a thorough remodeling of the universities themselves, the sluggish atmosphere of which bore powerful witness to the general intellectual decadence of the times. All the minutiae of the reorganization to be effected in these venerable seats of learning, — as respects curriculum, general administration, financial management, etc., including even the stipends of officers and members of the faculty, — are here carefully worked out.

Such, in barest outline, is the educational scheme contained in the "Boke of Discipline," a scheme which for general excellence suffers little when placed alongside the model systems of our own day. That Parliament refused to make it the law of the land was not at all due to opposition aroused by the discovery of any inherent weakness or lack of merit. The sole reason of its rejection was the cupidity of the nobles, who objected to that part of the bill which made provision for the support of the schools from the confiscated estates of the Old Romish Church, their secret purpose being to appropriate all that wealth for themselves.

It is pertinent to observe, however, that the death of this measure was more formal than real. The spirit of it survived; and, as the lofty ideal of their great national leader, it continued to evoke after his death the profoundest enthusiasm among all classes of the people. The power of its influence is reflected in repeated overtures to Parliament, through a long period of years, on the part of the General Assembly. Owing to the persistent demands of the people, steady and rapid progress was made toward its realization. Burg and parish schools increased with marvelous rapidity, and in 1696 a national system of compulsory education was established by royal ordinance — the final fruit of the impulse given by Knox's earlier work.

By the terms of this law every parish was required to provide a schoolhouse and salaried teacher. And so thoroughly national were these schools that children of all creeds and classes — Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, rich and poor — commingled in them. It must be confessed, however, that although this law was faithfully enforced in the Lowlands it was largely a dead letter in the Highlands, owing to the general poverty of the people. Notwithstanding this fact, and the further fact that the system was not without its evident imperfections, it is greatly to be doubted whether any other nation can make such a creditable educational showing for the period of which we treat.

It should be emphasized that Knox's great service to Scotland and the world was twofold — religious and educational; and because it is common to think of Knox exclusively in the rôle of a religious teacher and reformer, especial stress should be placed on his services to the cause of education. In fact we are disposed to hazard the assertion that his splendid services to the cause of popular education account in no slight degree for the magnitude and permanency of his achievements in the sphere of religion. There is a reasonableness that compels assent in the conclusion reached by a certain writer, who affirms that the "religiosity" of the Scots, the most dominant characteristic of the race, is best accounted for "by attributing it to the excellent parish school education which they enjoyed for centuries before the era of school boards."*

But, it may be asked, to what end is all this reference to the educational work of John Knox, and in what way does it help us the better to measure and understand his gift to America?

We have reserved until the last this mention of Knox's achievements in the field of education for the reason that we believe that his zeal and activity in this direction explain better than all else the tremendous influence which he has exerted upon the world. Nor does the acceptance of such a view involve a denial of the essential correctness of the popular belief, that the most

* James Leatham, *The Religiosity of the Scot*, Westminster Review, 144, p. 88. Mr. Leatham uses the word "religiosity" not in the uncomplimentary sense in which it was employed by Carlyle, who was the inventor of it. There is in it no implication of a lack of genuine piety, but a reference merely to the universally recognized religious and theological bent of the Scottish character.

visible, tangible, impress of John Knox on the life of America is to be found today in the great Presbyterian Church, in all its branches. The kernel of our contention is simply this: that the superior intelligence of the Scot, for which John Knox is chiefly to be thanked, is the one endowment above all others that has ever made him such a large and efficient factor in every line of human progress.

Scotland's excellent system of national education had been in operation many years when, in 1720, the first considerable emigration of her people to this country occurred; and in the life and character of those immigrants, and of all who subsequently arrived, the beneficent effects of that system are tellingly revealed. The superior intellectual equipment of the average Scot gave him an immense advantage over his neighbors of other races in the arduous and difficult labors which fell to the first settlers of America. He faced the stern conditions of his primitive environment with the cheerful courage and determination of the man who knows his resources and is unwaveringly confident of himself. Here doubtless we come upon the secret of that independence of action, so characteristic of the Scotch-American, to which attention has already been called, as having an important bearing on our history. Conscious of his ability to cope single-handed with life as he found it, he stepped out into the New World with no trace of that shrinking timidity which inclines the illiterate incoming hordes of our own day to flock together in the great cities.

There is little need for further expansion of this line of thought. Permit me to suggest that to the better education of the Scots has been due, probably, their remarkable capacity for mingling successfully with other races in a business and social way. To the same cause, in fact, may be traced that considerable assemblage of qualities which have made the Scot the best fitted of all men to make his way in the world. It is no small or unworthy part that he has played in American history. And to whatever extent it is fair to regard him as the product of the religious and educational genius of John Knox, to that extent America stands indebted to his maker.

SAMUEL SIMPSON.

*Hartford, Conn.*

# JOHN KNOX: HIS RELIGIOUS LIFE AND THEOLOGICAL POSITION.

Knox is known to us mainly in his public actions, and although he was the chief agent in giving a new theology to his country and a new character to its religious life, it is not easy to see his own mind and his own spiritual experience as clearly as we should like. In particular, we are quite without knowledge of the fundamental experience through which the priest of the church of Rome became an evangelical Christian and a leader in the Reformation. Yet the casual references in the six volumes of his works, and especially certain passages in his familiar correspondence, enable us to understand the kind of Christian he was. We can see how his heart and mind were exercised as he lived the Christian life and fought the fight of faith; we can see also the conceptions of Christianity which bulked most largely in his thoughts.

To begin with the last. When Knox was called to be a minister of the Gospel by the garrison in St. Andrew's Castle in 1546 Protestant Christianity had been fairly defined in both its historical forms. The fundamental Lutheran doctrine, Justification by Faith, and the fundamental Reformed doctrine, the doctrine of Election, had taken their places as the determining ideas of theological systems. Although the theology of Scotland was under Knox's influence to become unmistakably Calvinistic, at this stage in his career what we see in his mind is rather Lutheran than Reformed. He did not himself write on Justification by Faith, but he edited, summarized, and commended to his countrymen a treatise on this subject by Henry Balnaves, a layman and Lord of the Court of Session, who fell with him into the hands of the French when the castle was taken. Knox tells us himself what he means by Justification. "The substance of justification," he says, "is to cleave fast unto God by Jesus Christ, not by ourself, nor yet by our works." As he said later, in ex-

pounding his doctrine of the sacraments, it "restored to Christ his proper place." That is from one point of view the meaning of the Reformation. Christ had become invisible in the medieval church; or if not invisible, inaccessible; his place was taken by the priesthood, by sacraments, by rites and ceremonies, by acts which were "religious" in a technical sense; but he had not in that church nor in its life the place which he had in the New Testament. The doctrine of justification by faith alone gave him back his place: for the faith of which it speaks is faith in Him. Jesus Christ was again set forth, visibly, on his cross, bearing the sin of the world: that was the whole of the Gospel; it was there immediately for every man; and the response which it evoked in the heart, and which was called faith, was the whole of Christianity. We can understand the emancipating power with which this message came to men whose lives had become a burden to them under the legal and traditional system of the church of Rome; and though it cannot be said that this was the ever-dominant thought in Knox's mind, as it was in Luther's, he had from the first a thorough appreciation of its truth, and of the liberty which it brings.

At a later period in his life, when he had come directly under the influence of Calvin, Knox wrote a tremendous treatise on Predestination. Modern theologians would agree that the true doctrine of justification by faith and the true doctrine of election are different ways of expressing the same truth of experience. That truth is that salvation is the work of God in Christ. Justification by faith puts this in the form of a doctrine of human inability—man only abandons himself to the Redeemer. Election puts it in the form of a doctrine of divine sovereignty—the Redeemer comes in spontaneous goodness and takes hold of the sinner for his salvation. But it is one experience, one religious experience, which is expressed in both the doctrines; and in their Christian substance and intention they are true and identical. They are only different ways of saying what every Christian says in some way—Not unto us, Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy name be the glory, because of Thy lovingkindness and Thy faithfulness. They are harmonious Amens to the words of Jesus, Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you. Knox's treatise on

Predestination, however, is not concerned with this experimental doctrine of election, but with the doctrine which in some mysterious way came to be associated or rather confused and even identified with it — the doctrine, namely, that God for his own glory foreordains from eternity whatsoever comes to pass. Of course I am not going to discuss that doctrine here. Knox is no more able than subtler and more speculative heads to meet the obvious objections it raises. He clings to it in spite of difficulties, partly, I think, because it is inextricably interwoven in his mind with his experience of God's free spontaneous love, and seems indeed all of a piece with it; and partly, because, if it is given up, the world becomes a scene of moral anarchy. Everything is going on in it, but there is no unity of purpose, and nothing is being achieved. It was the form, too, which faith in God seemed inevitably to assume when everything in the world was against the soul: God lived; there was not in the world, nor could there be, anything that lay beyond the scope of his counsel. Perhaps we who live in quieter times, and who do not know what it is literally to stand in jeopardy every hour, cannot appreciate the need of a faith in God so tremendous. One of the most deeply felt sentences I have noticed in Knox runs thus: "The causes are known to God alone why He suffereth the soldiers to fail in battle whom nevertheless He commandeth to fight." The moral value of this doctrine of predestination to a man fighting the Lord's battle is that it enshrines his conviction that God *does* know. If he goes into the battle and fails, it is not without God. The eternal will is being fulfilled through it, though he knows not how; and it strengthens and enobles him to believe that this is so. It assures him, too, that he is immortal till his work is done.

Although, however, Knox was personally a believer in predestination, it is well worth remarking that in the Confession of Faith, presented to the Scottish Estates in 1560, this doctrine has no express place. There is indeed a chapter on election, but it is strictly Scriptural and experimental, and does not touch on the speculative idea of a foreordination of all things; and where the doctrine of God is defined, all that is said is, "By this God we confess and believe all things in heaven and earth as well visible as invisible to have been created, to be retained in their

being, and to be ruled and guided by his inscrutable providence, to such end as his eternal wisdom, goodness, and justice has appointed them, to the manifestation of his own glory." This covers all religious needs, and no doubt represents the non-controversial mind of the reformer.

To restore to Christ his proper place was one purpose and result of the Reformation; another, in which Knox was equally interested, was to restore its proper place to Scripture. The Bible was to the Reformers both sword and shield in their controversy with the church. Now the Bible also, like the fundamental Christian experience, can be looked at in two ways, and from the very beginning it was looked at in two ways by Protestant Christians. On the one hand, it is a record of human experiences. It is all written by men, telling of their communion with God and of God's communion with them. It is the world's story of the religious life: the great confession of faith. This is the way in which the Lutheran church and the German mind in general has tended to regard Scripture. But on the other hand, Scripture has been regarded not as the witness of the soul's experiences, but as the record of God's revelations. It has assumed the character not of a sublime confession of faith extending through the ages, but of a Divine law, every word of which has the authority of God behind it. This on the whole was the Calvinistic view of Scripture. Of course these are abstractions, and it is easy to see the truth and the falsehood of both, but they are not unimportant. Knox's use of the Bible for theological purposes was unequivocally Calvinistic. Not that he could avoid reading it as a confession of faith, in which justice is done to all the ups and downs of the conflict. It was a mirror in which he saw the reflection of his own experience, and knew that he was in the succession of the saints. It was his habit to read through the Psalter every month, and he was especially at home with tried souls like Job, Jeremiah, Elijah, and the Psalmists. But in the main the Bible is for him the law of the Lord, and he uses it as such with an indiscriminating rigor which, in a man with his knowledge of life, is surprising. Not only its precepts, but its examples are authoritative for him; and he argues from them, when it suits his purpose, with unhesitating decision. In this

he was not merely a Calvinist, but a Puritan; and there is nothing on which he is more emphatic than the dictum that to introduce anything into the church or the worship of God for which express authority cannot be adduced from Scripture is idolatry, and to be punished with all the severities denounced against idolatry in the Old Testament itself.

Two illustrations may be given of this. The first is the doctrine of the Mass. From the very beginning of his ministry Knox thought that the mass was idolatry. He heaped opprobrium upon it. He exhausted all the sarcasm of the prophets in deriding the priest-made, hand-made God. "The strongest of all motives that lead to Rome," says Mr. Shorthouse, "is the craving after the Mass." This is true. What the soul must have is the assurance of a love of God which forever bears the sin of the world, an atoning sacrifice which does not belong to a remote past, but has in it a perpetual, an eternal virtue. It is because the mass is one way in which this assurance is given that it is the citadel of the Romish Church's strength. Without perhaps appreciating this, without recognizing that if the Gospel was buried under all the clerical mummery of masses, it was buried alive, so to speak, and could work through them for the healing of simple souls, Knox saw clearly where the strength of Romanism lay, and directed against the mass his implacable hostility. One mass, he said, when he heard that it had been celebrated at Holyrood, alarmed him more than the landing of ten thousand armed men in the kingdom. It must be put down by main force. The law must forbid it; and if a first offense was punished by fine and a second by exile, for a third the idolater must die the death. From the beginning to the end of his career, in England, in France, in Scotland, Knox was relentless and uncompromising on this point. The moral for a modern Protestant preacher is to see that he has in his church and in his Gospel somewhere, in a less materialistic, more spiritual, and therefore more adequate and less idolatrous form, that assurance of a present sin-bearing love of God which the mass seals to the penitent soul.

The next illustration of Knox's use of the Bible may be taken from his writings on Church Reform. The subsequent his-

tory of the church in Scotland gives peculiar piquancy to this. Scotland is a little country, but it is the classical ground of the great and as yet not quite decided controversy about the relation of church and state. In America this may not seem to be a matter about which controversy is possible. Church and State are defined here, as indeed they are by most members of the church to which I belong, mainly, if not exclusively, by contrast with each other. They have different spheres, or they exist on different planes, and there is no need that they should come into collision. The church is a kingdom which is not of this world, and there can be no misunderstanding between it and the state which *is* a kingdom of this world. History passes a severe criticism on this theory, and even at the bar of philosophy it may prove not to have said the last word. As soon as we have defined two great ideas like church and state by contrast with each other, so that we see clearly that each is what the other is not, and is not what the other is, it becomes intellectually necessary for us to rise above this blank contrast, and to define the same ideas positively by relation to each other, so that both may have value and efficiency in the one moral world in which we live. This is the difficulty with which we will all be confronted in the future: we have gone to the end of the road which tells us that church and state have nothing to do with each other, and we shall be obliged to consider whether there are any two things in the same universe that have nothing to do with each other. Knox's difficulties arose from the fact that in his time the distinctions which we have exhausted had not been so much as outlined. There was no division of life into religion and politics. The church was not an unearthly kingdom; it was the nation in its religious aspect. If men like Knox did not see life steadily or see it whole, they saw it at least solid; it was a unity, and the man who was interested in it at all was interested at once in politics, in religion, in economics, in morals. It is in this condition of mind that Knox appeals to his Bible to answer the question "whether the reformation of religion fallen into decay, and the punishment of false teachers, do appertain to the civil magistrate and nobility of any realm." He has no difficulty in finding in it the answer he requires. He points to Moses, who

was not a priest, yet was charged by God with the duty of instituting Aaron, who was a type of Christ, to the priesthood. He points to Hezekiah and Josiah as reformers of religious abuses, who compelled a corrupt and negligent priesthood to do their duties. "It is a thing more than certain," he says, with one of those magnificent assertions which leave the astonished auditor no breath to contradict, "that whatsoever God required of the civil magistrate in Israel and Judah concerning the observation of true religion during the time of the law, the same doth he require of lawful magistrates professing Christ Jesus in the time of the Gospel, as the Holy Ghost hath taught us." But Knox does not limit the power and duty of reforming the church to "the civil magistrate and nobility of any realm." "Reformation of religion," he writes expressly to the commonalty in Scotland, "belongeth to all that hope for life everlasting. To you it doth no less appertain than to your kings and princes, to provide that Christ Jesus be truly preached among you, seeing that without his true knowledge can neither of you both attain salvation." . . . "If in this point your superiors be negligent . . . most justly ye may provide true teachers for yourselves." With characteristic vigor he draws the whole conclusion to which his premises point. "Ye ought," he says, addressing the lay authorities, "to remove from honour and to punish with death such as God condemneth with his own mouth," that is, such as participate in the idolatry of the mass. There is no time nor need here to point out the unsound and perilous logic of such arguments and the illegitimacy of this use of Scripture. It is perhaps of more importance to notice that the idea in Knox's mind — an idea very poorly served by this style of argument — is a thoroughly sound one: namely, that the church consists of and belongs to, not its officials, but its members; that they are the ultimate source of all rule and order in it; and that Christianity is not a professional mystery, a craft that only a school of experts can manipulate, but the most universal of human interests, in which persons and nations as such are directly, vitally and without exception concerned. In the working out of these ideas through the exigencies of national history they have assumed various and indeed contradictory attitudes to the arguments of Knox; but no one could

do a greater service to his country than to lodge in the minds of all men, as Knox did, the idea of personal and national responsibility to Jesus Christ. All that is great in Scottish history has its roots here.

The one comment to be made on Knox's use of the Bible, and it is applicable to those against whom he used it equally with himself, is that it is scholastic, not historical. The whole stands for him on one level of interest and authority. To say of him as has been said of Carlyle that "in his Bible there was no New Testament," is not so true as to say that he was unconscious of any difference between the Old and the New. The questions that are raised by historical criticism did not exist for him even to the extent to which they did for Luther and Calvin. The one passage I have noted in which he touches even parenthetically on such subjects is in his sermon on Christ's temptation. He reads the whole narrative literally, but does not bind others to do so. "The most part of expositors," he says, "do think that all this temptation was in spirit and imagination only, the corporal sense being nothing moved. I will contend with no man in such cases, but patiently will I suffer every man to abound in his own knowledge; and without prejudice of any man's estimation I offer my judgment to be weighed and considered by Christian charity." *O si sic omnia,* one can hardly help adding.

Knox's doctrine of the church has nothing in it to distinguish it from the ordinary doctrine of the reformed churches. The notes of the true church are three: 1) the true preaching of the word of God, in which God has revealed himself unto us, as the writings of the prophets and the apostles declare. 2) the right administration of the sacraments of Christ Jesus. 3) Ecclesiastical discipline uprightly ministered, as God's word prescribes, whereby vice is repressed and virtue nourished. We can easily understand the emphasis laid on the first of these, the pure preaching of the gospel, but many have had their doubts about the other two, and especially about the last. These doubts, however, are hardly justified. We must remember that in the church of Rome Christianity had come to be a system of sacraments; all grace was sacramental; and the great space given in the Scottish Confession of Faith, which was mainly Knox's work, to

the definition of the true doctrine of the sacraments, was demanded by the time, to begin with. It was demanded further by the fact that in the New Testament itself the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper are each in its own way a condensation of the most essential truths of the Christian religion. The church that celebrates the sacraments will not readily lapse from what is vital in the gospel, and the disposition to abandon New Testament ideas is almost invariably attended by a disposition to slight or supersede the sacraments. But it is especially the third point, ecclesiastical discipline rightly ministered, for which Knox and the church which owed so much to him have been confidently criticised. I venture to hold, as against such criticism, that in the essential matter Knox was here entirely in the right. If the first mark of the church is truth, the preaching of the pure Gospel, and the second worship, the right administration of the sacraments, surely the next is the presence and action in it of a power which maintains Christian character. The church has suffered more from forgetting that it had a character to keep, a moral standard to maintain in the lives of its members, than from any other cause. Orthodoxy is nothing, worship is nothing, if Christian character is wanting, and this is what ecclesiastical discipline has in view. It is easy, of course, to point out that when the forces in the church which ought to tell upon the production and elevation of character can only manifest themselves in ecclesiastical processes — when discipline, in other words, is reduced to assuming legal forms — the church has failed. No doubt it *has* failed, judged by the highest standard; but it is a mark of the true church, as Knox understood it, that it must take responsibility for its failures, and deal seriously with them. And in that, who will deny that he was right? Yet strongly as he insisted on character as a note of the true church, he was quite free from fanaticism. He knew there would be bad men in the true church, but their presence did not deprive it of its character. There is a singular mixture of liberality and narrowness in some of his expressions on this subject. It is the devil, he says roundly, who tempts men to argue from life to doctrine, and to say, Here is a bad man, therefore here is a false doctrine; here is a good man, here therefore is true doctrine. "In the ancient idolatry," he

writes, "men of most singular virtues, temperance and external justice did live, as faithful histories do witness unto us. And this day, amongst the Turks, the common multitude do live a more strait life in many things than God's word does require; yea and some of them as concerning their external behavior, may be judged irreprehensible. But what folly were it to prove and allow therefore their damnable and false religion!"

What has been said is sufficient, perhaps, to give a fair idea of Knox's theology. Properly speaking, it is not his; it is the theology of the Reformed church, with a national accent. Of his religion in the sense of his inner personal experience it is not so easy to speak. Constitutionally, he was not a man of high spirits. He speaks of "this my churlish nature, for the most part oppressed with melancholy." In his farewell to the elders at Edinburgh he says that only the sense of his responsibility to God enabled him to overcome his natural timidity. "In respect that he bore God's message, to whom he must make account for the same, he (albeit he was weak and an unworthy creature, and a fearful man) feared not the faces of men." All his life he suffered agonies from dyspepsia and gravel. He knew when he accepted the call to preach in St. Andrew's that he was putting his life at hazard. John Rough, who acted as spokesman for the garrison in giving the call, was himself burned at Smithfield; and all through the twenty-six years which intervened before his own death, Knox's life could hardly be called safe. He stood in jeopardy every hour. He died daily. If the typical Christian is the martyr, and that is the New Testament view, few have a better right to the title. He had the cross on his shoulders daily, prepared at any moment to die in the service of Christ.

This gives a peculiar intensity to all that he says about suffering. "O Christian brethren," he exclaims, "I write by experience." He learned that God does not forsake his children *under the cross.* "In the cross of Christ always is included a secret and hid victory, never well known till the sufferer appear all together to be as it were exterminat." His repeated experiences of deliverance, when man's extremity proved God's opportunity, made hope blaze in him like a pillar of fire in the darkest hours. He writes of "faith . . . whose nature is to hope against

hope." He believes in prayer with an uncalculating, unlimited belief. He knows what it is in ordinary times: "an earnest and familiar talking with God"; but he knows also what it is, and what deliverance it brings, in extremity. "For I, the writer hereof, let this be said to the laud and praise of God alone, in anguish of mind and vehement tribulation and affliction, called to the Lord when not only the ungodly, but even my faithful brethren, yea and my own self, that is, all natural understanding, judged my cause to be irremediable: and yet in my greatest calamity, and when my pains were most cruel, willed his eternal wisdom that my hands should write far contrary to the judgment of carnal reason: which his mercy hath proved true. Blessed be his holy name. And therefore dare I be bold, in the verity of God's word, to promise that notwithstanding the vehemency of trouble, the long continuance thereof, the desperation of all men, the fearfulness, danger, dolour and anguish of our own hearts, yet if we call constantly to God, that beyond expectation of all men he shall deliver." There is something truly Pauline in this, yet quite original. In the strength of it Knox can rebuke the cowardly and indulgent. "Who now," he exclaims, "rejoiceth under the cross?" "All men appeared to live in such careless security as though the immutable sentence of God pronouncing that whosoever will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution had nothing appertained to our age." Why do we *not* stand in jeopardy every hour?

It was out of his own experience, too, that Knox consoled as well as rebuked. The most attractive part of his works is his correspondence with women who evidently found in him a director able to sympathize with spiritual troubles. His chief correspondent was his mother-in-law, a hypochondriacal person who sometimes tried his patience. Yet he could be very patient. "This day," he writes to her once, "ye know to be the day of my study and prayer unto God; yet if your trouble be intolerable, or if ye think my presence may release your pain (she had proposed to visit him on the day in question), do as the spirit shall move you, for you know that I will be offended with nothing that you do in God's name. And O how glad would I be to feed the hungry and give medicine to the sick! Your messenger found

me in bed after a sore trouble and a most dolorous night, and so dolour may complain to dolour when we two meet." What particular trials of the spirit he had to deal with in himself or others is not quite clear. Sometimes it was the general trial of unbelief. It gives one a start in the Pilgrim's Progress to find Christian encounter old Atheist, with his loud laugh and bold assertion that there was no such place as the pilgrim was bound for, not before starting on his journey, but when he was near its goal. Knox and his mother-in-law had both encountered him. Sometimes the trial was connected with Scripture. "He (the Tempter) would persuade you that God's word is of no effect, but that it is a vain tale invented by man, and so all that is spoken of Jesus, the son of God, is but a vain fable. . . . He says the Scriptures of God are but a tale, and no credit is to be given to them." Sometimes, again, it arises out of the want of assurance, or of any vividness in religious experience: there is no sense, so to speak, either of sin or grace. Knox deals with both states. "I can write to you by my own experience. I have sometimes been in that security that I felt not dolour for sin, neither yet displeasure against myself for any iniquity in that I did offend." God cured him of this by sharp medicines. But He dealt graciously with him in the want of assurance, and so Knox deals with his correspondents. "It is dolorous to the faithful," he writes, "to lack the sensible feeling of God's mercy and goodness (and the sensible feeling thereof he lacketh what time he fully cannot rest and repose upon the same). And yet as nothing more commonly cometh to God's children, so is there no exercise more profitable for his soldiers than the same." The figure of the soldier is frequent in Knox, but in this case it is the child he makes use of. "As the natural father will not kill the body of the child, albeit through sickness it faint, and abhor comfortable meats, no more (and much less) will our heavenly father kill our souls, albeit, through spiritual infirmity and weakness of our faith, sometimes we refuse the lively food of his comfortable promises." Knox is skilful in extracting evidences for faith even out of the conflict and misery of unbelief. "Dear mother," he writes, "he that is sorry for absence of virtue is not altogether destitute of the same . . . our hunger cries unto God." And again, this

time quoting Mrs. Bowes, "only the regenerate man fights the battle." Again, "In that ye lament the absence of your Father's amiable presence and face ye bear witness that there is a God." Knox is familiar with the faith that is born of despair, and refuses to be overcome by it: there is none like that. "At such time as the flesh, natural reason, the law of God, the present torment and the devil, all at once doth cry, God is angry, and therefore is there neither help nor remedy to be hoped for at his hand: At such time, I say, to sob unto God is the demonstration of the secret seed of God which is hid in God's elect children."

Knox's work as a preacher, in contrast with his work as a pastor or spiritual director, shows another and perhaps a more inspiring aspect of his own religious life. He had an intense appreciation of the Gospel, and a consuming desire to preach it, especially in Scotland. The need of the people after centuries of neglect — "our brethren night and day sobbing and groaning for the bread of life" — moved him to a deep and lifelong compassion. "Depart I cannot," he writes even when his life was in danger, "till such time as God quench their thirst a little." "O sweet were the death that should follow such forty days in Edinburgh as here I have had three" — spent, that is, in preaching. His preaching had the trenchancy of Elijah's: "in religion there is no midst; either it is the religion of God, and in everything that is done it must have the assurance of God's word, and then is his majesty truly honored; or else it is the religion of the devil, which is when men erect and set up to God such religion as pleaseth them." But he knew also how to glorify God by faith in his love. "When he appears to leave us a little in our own weak corruption, and to show his face angry against sin, *then* to seek unto his promises, then to call upon his help, and to appeal him as it were that he declare himself a true, merciful and benign Father towards us, is the greatest glory that we can give unto him; yea it is to overcome him and to be victor over him by his own strength, which albeit we feel not in the present combat no more than Jacob did in wrestling with the angel, yet shall we find the comfort of it when the storm is a little assuaged." Knox's voice, as the English ambassador, Randolph, said, was able to put more life into men than five hundred trumpets con-

tinually blustering in their ears; but evidently it had other besides the trumpet tones. And in view of the large use he made of the Old Testament in dealing with national religion we ought to remember that he first cast anchor, to use his own expression, in the seventeenth chapter of John, and it was this with the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah and the epistle to the Ephesians which was his chosen portion on his deathbed.

Knox confesses the familiar faults of a preacher. Sometimes it seemed to him that he had been careless. "I did it not," he writes, speaking of distributing the bread of life, "with such fervency, with such indifferency, with such diligence, as this day I know my duty was to have done." Sometimes he even thought he had loved ease, and stayed where he had an audience, rather than gone where the Gospel was needed. "I might be more diligent in going from place to place, although I should beg, and preach Christ." Sometimes, strange to say, he thought he had failed in directness and courage. "Alas, this day my conscience accuseth me that I spake not as plainly as my duty was to have done: for I ought to have said to the wicked man expressedly by his name, Thou shalt die the death." We can hardly forbear a smile at the ironical humor of what follows: "I dare not say that I was the greatest flatterer." He was not insensible to praise: who is? "There is a spiritual pride which is not hastily suppressed in God's very elect children, as witnesses St. Paul." . . . "I can write to you by my own experience." . . . "My vane heart did thus flatter myself ( I write the truth to my own confusion and to the glory of my heavenly Father through Jesus Christ) 'Thou hast suffered great trouble for the professing of Christ's truth, God has done great things for thee, delivering thee from that most cruel bondage (the galleys). He has placed thee in a most honorable vocation, and thy labors are not without fruit; therefore thou ought to rejoice and to give praise unto God.' O mother," he goes on, "this was a subtle serpent who could thus pour in venom, I not perceiving it; but blessed be my God who permitted me not long to sleep in that estate." He knew the temptation of the modern minister to waste his time in what is not his work: "That day I thought I had not sinned if I had not been idle." We can only say as we look back at all

these utterances that this man was of like passions, like infirmities with ourselves; and that in the midst of them he was conscious of the same consolation and the same discipline as we. There is not much, probably, in his theology that can help us, in an intellectual environment so different, in thinking out the Gospel; but in the whole-heartedness with which he gave himself to the Gospel as he understood it, in the breadth of his interest in national life, in his energy, in his courage, his inextinguishable hope, he is an example and an inspiration to us all. He served Scotland, and, like his great successor, Chalmers, sought the Christian good of the Scottish people, with his whole heart. At the very end of his life it wounded him in a tender point to have this denied. "One thing in the end," he says, and with this we may conclude, "I may not pretermit, that is, to give him a lie in his throat that either dare or will say that ever I sought support against my native country. What I have been to my country, albeit this unthankful age will not know, yet the ages to come will be compelled to bear witness to the truth." No boast has ever been more perfectly justified; and all that Knox was to his country rested on his own acceptance of the Reformed Christianity, and on the power with which he infused into other men, and into the national consciousness as a whole, the impulses which had regenerated himself.

JAMES DENNEY.

*Glasgow, Scotland.*

# Book Reviews.

## CAPEN'S CONNECTICUT POOR LAWS.

Some ten years ago the American Economic Association published a treatise of 135 pages by Prof. John Cummings on the "Poor Laws of Massachusetts and New York." The result of a much more thorough study of the Connecticut poor law has now been given us by Dr. Edward W. Capen in a volume of over five hundred pages. The work has been thoroughly well done, the style is clear and concise, untiring care has been given to the preservation of accuracy in details, and the matter is so arranged and indexed that it may be read with interest or used conveniently for reference.

The history of the poor law is divided into five periods: the early colonial, the late colonial, the period of interpretation and completion (1784-1838), the institutional period (1838-1875), and the period of special legislation (1875-1903). These periods mark the main divisions of the book, and the same order of topical treatment is used for each period. The principal topics treated are the laws of settlement, for the support of relatives, against idleness, against intemperance, against bastardy, methods of relief, pension laws, law against vagrancy, for the care of the insane, and for the protection of minors. These topics are subdivided, and others are added in the later periods as the problem of poor relief becomes more complicated. In addition to the laws of each period an account is given of the judicial decisions bearing upon the topics discussed.

Connecticut presents an extreme type of the town system in general poor relief. This local responsibility is still preserved, though in recent decades the state factor has largely increased through aid to institutions for the relief of special classes. The selectmen of each town are required to give necessary support to anyone falling in need within its boundaries. If the person aided has a legal settlement in some other town in Connecticut, the amount expended may be collected from the town of settlement.

One statement of the author concerning the settlement law seems at least open to question. Legal settlement in a town is acquired by inhabitants of other towns in the state by four years' self-supporting residence. The word inhabitant in the above pro-

vision has been given a liberal interpretation by the courts, so as to include, among others, people from other states and countries who have been made voters in a Connecticut town. The question arises whether such adopted citizens can gain a settlement by four years residence in the town where they first become citizens of Connecticut, or whether it is necessary after becoming an inhabitant of one town that they should move to some other town and live there for the four years. Dr. Capen states (p. 283), that such a change of residence is necessary, and several judicial decisions have tended toward that conclusion, although such a provision would be manifestly without reason. In the case, however, of Guilford *vs.* New Haven (56 Conn., 465), it was decided that a naturalized citizen gained a settlement in the same town in which he first became a citizen by four years of subsequent residence. This was under the law as it read before the revision of 1888. The present law has received no direct judicial interpretation upon this point, but as a matter of fact the old decision is accepted by relieving officers, and citizens of four years continuous self-supporting residence in a town are accepted as settled there without regard to former residence. It is to be hoped that this practice will be sanctioned by the courts if the question is brought up for judicial decision.

Among the interesting discoveries is that of an indeterminate sentence law as far back as 1750, and a provision in the statutes of 1838 for the release from the workhouse of any one who reformed though the term for which he was sentenced had not expired.

The publication of this treatise should make the state more conscious of what its poor law is, and pave the way for its improvement.

DAVID I. GREEN.

**(The Historical Development of the Poor Law of Connecticut, by Edward Warren Capen, Ph.D., Columbia University Press, pp. 520. $3.00.)**

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Ever since Prof. George F. Moore ("Journ. Bib. Lit.," 1890) and Maher ("Recent Evidence for the Authenticity of the Gospels," London, Catholic Truth Society, 1893) suggested that Tatian in his Diatessaron made the order of events in Matthew the controlling order over that of Mark and Luke, there has been the possibility of explaining one of the puzzles of the Synoptic Problem. For with all the light thrown upon that problem by Papias' statement as to the origin of Mark's Gospel, it has always been difficult to understand just what he meant by saying that Mark's interpreting of Peter's discourses was "not in order" *οὐ μέντοι τάξει.*

The crude explanation that it referred to Mark's effort as being a lot of disarranged notes has long since been given up, the conviction growing that the Markan writing which the Presbyter had in mind was substan-

tially the narrative document we now possess in our second canonical Gospel. This Gospel, however, is the opposite of a document which could be described as "not in order"; for not only is it pre-eminently arranged in chronological sequence, but, as a matter of fact, its sequence controls that of the other two Gospels.

It would seem, therefore, that Papias' statement was not to be taken absolutely, but relatively, and had reference to some other Gospel document, whose order in the Presbyter's mind was to such an extent the standard that Mark's deviation from it could designate his narrative as "not in order."

Such standard narratives had been suggested by scholars. But none seemed to present the significance which this suggestion regarding Tatian's use of Matthew carried with it. For such preference by Tatian would seem to represent the current opinion of his day, which had placed Matthew at the head of the New Testament canonical writings and would appear to be confirmed by the fact that Matthew's order is peculiar in the topical grouping of its material; so that it would not be lack of chronological sequence for which the Presbyter was blaming Mark, but ordered arrangement (see Plato's use of τάξις in his Republic).

Here, then, was considerable light upon the riddle — providing Tatian really gave to Matthew's arrangement of material the preference it was claimed he did.

In a brochure of less than a hundred pages, entitled *The Diatessaron of Tatian and the Synoptic Problem,* Prof. Augustus Hobson of Chicago University makes quite evident that no such preference can be shown to exist — in fact, that the one clear thing in Tatian's harmony is that no preference is given to the order or arrangement of any one of the four Gospels.

In a singular and exhaustive way he lays before the reader a review of the situation, a statement of the problem and the scientific method which must be followed in order to obtain trustworthy results. With a thorough application of the method on which he insists he shows the untenableness of the views which claim a positive preference for some one special specific Gospel order in the arrangement which Titian has given his material, directing his criticism especially against the rather strenuous position of Bacon ("Am. Journ. Theol.," Oct., 1900) that Tatian's order has been followed even to the right arrangement of the material which, in the present canonical Gospel, is so conspicuously disarranged — Tatian, according to Bacon, having before him a primary copy of the Gospel in which the present disarrangement did not exist.

The author then gives the narrative plan presented in the Diatessaron and shows from it conclusively that Tatian was no mere mechanical harmonist, but, on the theory that the Evangelists had dealt freely with the material which they used, proceeded, with a critical acuteness often remarkable, to give what he considered the right order of the Gospel events.

What this reconstruction was, the author makes evident by showing that, in producing it, Tatian not only altered the order of events, conflated accounts, added and omitted words and phrases — in one case, the genealogies, dispensing with an entire section — but rewrote at times the material

which he found, though his regard for his services was too great to bring him to extend this rewriting to whole events. In fact, in this regard for his services he stands on a mere exacting level than the Evangelists themselves; for he wrote after the idea of a Canon had come into the thought of the Church and was bound by the idea, as the Evangelists who wrote before its coming were not.

Altogether Prof. Hobson has given us a scholarly piece of work which will have its influence on Synoptic Criticism as well as on the criticism of the Diatessaron itself. (University of Chicago Press, pp. 81. In the series "Historical & Linguistic Studies in Literature Related to the New Testament," being Vol. 1, Part III, in the Linguistic & Exegetical subseries.)

M. W. J.

The test of Christian discipleship was given by the Master: "By their fruits ye shall know them." But the Church has been reluctant to accept and adopt the standard. It is easier to concoct a comprehensive creed than to live a straightforward Christian life. The world has usually applied the test, though in a bungling way, for conscience is ever on the side of Christ. Today as in apostolic times men are coming to realize that "faith without works is dead." What is Christianity today? What was it eighteen hundred years ago? These are paramount questions, and many and diverse answers are being given. The trend, however, is in the direction of the life-test. One of the most valuable contributions toward a better understanding of apostolic Christianity is Dobschutz's *Christian Life in the Primitive Church,* an English translation of which has come to hand. Our author, after a brief introduction, divides his subject into three general heads: The Pauline Churches, Jewish Christendom, and Later Christianity among the Heathen. His object is to lay bare the real life of the early Christians, to test their attainments, to mark their short-comings, and to make clear their own criteria of character. A chapter on the education of the Churches is followed by three chapters on the Church at Corinth and one each on the Churches of Macedonia, Asia Minor, and Rome. What were the live, practical questions in the various Christian communities in those early days? What was the real impulse to duty and service, and what the power that enabled the average disciple to live the higher life? Our author handles his sources in a sane and scholarly manner, and few facts escape his notice. The book is highly interesting, well proportioned, and will not fail of a wide reading and a wholesome influence. (Putnam, pp. 438. $2.25.)

E. K. M.

The first volume of the English translation of Harnack's *Expansion of Christianity* is before us, and the second and final will soon be at hand. The work is one of great importance and of high merit. No other living historian is so well equipped for this task as Harnack. Schuerer, Ramsay, Duchesne, Boissier, and a few others could have treated certain phases of the subject with perhaps greater knowledge of details, but for the manifold theme Harnack's equipment is unrivaled. To treat of the mission and spread of the Christian religion during the first three centuries requires an intimate knowledge of almost every other phase of the new faith and, in

addition, a knowledge of the prevalence and vitality of the old faiths and the unfaith which Christianity was gradually superseding. Many and indeed most other questions of general history are involved in the task, and no wonder our author confesses at the close that "a whole series of questions remains unanswered." The present volume consists of three books. The first is introductory and treats of the diffusion of Judaism, the external and internal conditions of the worldwide expansion, Jesus Christ and the universal mission and the transition from the Jewish to the gentile mission, with an excursus on "the alleged council of the apostles at Antioch." There is little that is fresh in this portion of the work, but in the excursus our author entirely justifies the term "alleged." In Book II, Harnack deals with the mission-preaching in word and deed. The range of topics is very wide: The religious characteristics of the mission-preaching, the gospel of salvation and of the Saviour, the gospel of love and charity, the religion of the Spirit and power, of authority and reason, of mysteries and transcendentalism, of a Book and of a history realized, and a chapter each on the historical and political consciousness of Christendom, and the conflict with polytheism and idolatry. In addition, there is an excursus on the conflict with demons, and also on Christians as a third race, besides an epilogue on Christianity in its completed form as a syncretic religion. Harnack's well-known point of view prevails throughout. Does he allow sufficiently for the deep undercurrent of common Christian faith, which finally found its embodiment and idealization in myth and legend? And was not that faith simpler and purer than our author is inclined to think? The truth and its symbolized expression may not have been so early and so completely blended as Harnack would seem to believe. We cannot, however, be too grateful to our author for this most interesting and valuable product of his fertile pen. No student of early Church history can afford to be without it. In spite of his excuse we are sorry that Dr. Harnack did not supply us with a map. (Putnam, pp. 494. $2.25.) E. K. M.

The Crown Theological Library has issued a volume entitled *Faith and Morals,* consisting of the translation of two works by Prof. Herrmann of Marburg. The first of these is entitled "Faith as Ritschl Defined It," and the second "The Moral Law as Understood in Romanism and in Protestantism." The two discussions have an intimate connection, for it is Herrmann's fundamental position that faith is the principle that both conditions a man's inner relation to God and his conduct among men. With the utmost vigor and clearness does this most individual of modern theologians insist that in the act of faith each soul has and must have a special experience of God. This experience is quickened by contact with the personality of Christ, who stands ever before all who approach him as the only revealer of God and the only pledge that the good which was perfectly realized in himself can become the possession of those who learn of him. Manifestly this good can be no mere impersonal or material quantum. It is through and through a moral conception. Good becomes righteousness in the individual life, and this righteousness can only arise in so far as man is brought into that act of faith which absorbs the pur-

pose of God as revealed in Jesus Christ. Here Herrmann found it necessary in his discussion of the moral law to attack with the utmost frankness and severity the Roman Catholic position. He did not shrink from insisting that the fundamental doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church is immoral, for it insists that faith consists in the assent to certain doctrines even although these are not absorbed by the heart nor spring from the inner life of the individual. No doubt good Roman Catholics have absorbed this faith and have a personal relation with God in Christ; but their system compels them to teach that the supreme duty of every man is to acquiesce in whatever the church teaches, whether he personally understands it or not. Christian belief thus becomes a law outside the individual life. Here he is not concerned so much with the particular doctrine which the Romish Church teaches, but "with the way in which they believe." What the Church of Rome in its official capacity calls morality is the death of the moral sense." The Roman doctrine of "Probabilism" is closely described and severely exposed. The result of the publication of this work was a lively controversy between Dr. Herrmann and Dr. Joseph Adloff and Dr. Mausbach. From slightly different standpoints these two Romanists attempted to repel Herrmann's attack, and quite one-half of the present volume of four hundred pages consists of an Appendix in which Herrman deals with these antagonists in detail. This he does without flinching, maintaining to the very end the strong position which he had assumed in his original essay. Never discourteous, Herrmann is never cowardly. He is not afraid to see and to state that which too many today are willing, in the name of charity, to slur over, namely, the fundamental opposition which exists between official Catholicism and essential Protestantism. Yet, it must be said that Herrmann leaves his own position unclear. All his strenuous affirmations about the necessity for an inner and personal apprehension of the truth which a man professes to believe do not allow for or explain the fact that Christian doctrine is here, and that to children and unbelievers and the heathen these doctrines have to be taught. It leads also to some curious results if one holds, as he tries to do, that nothing should be professed that is not inwardly accepted. The Jews believe and tremble, and some men know the truth and do it not. Herrmann shows that the Roman Church has not noticed the problem of the relation of dogma to faith. But even Herrmann's solution is simply an assertion of the opposite extreme, and it does not square with the facts of the Church's life and experience. (Putnam, pp. xii, 415. $1.25 net.)

W. D. M.

In his latest volume, Dr. J. R. Illingworth, under the title of *Christian Character,* presents us with ten most luminous lectures on the elements of Christian Ethics. The volume contains all the excellences which we are accustomed to expect in anything written by Dr. Illingworth — warm Christian sentiment, strong ethical conviction, clear and limpid English style. These we always find within the covers of his books. If this work seems less systematic than one would like to have it, and does not present a complete view of Christian ethics, we must yet be most thankful for it as a series of essays on various aspects of that great topic. It is time,

surely, that someone in the Church of England presented us with a systematic treatise on Christian ethics. Dr. T. B. Strong has discussed with ample learning and insight the relation of Greek ethics to Christian ethics, and the late Dean Church as well as Bishop Paget have both entered with great power into particular ethical aspects and problems of the Christian religion. But we yet anxiously wait for a volume from one of their rising young philosophical theologians which shall treat of Christian ethics in relation to general ethics. It is most necessary to have the field of Christian ethics described as a definite portion of the whole field of systematic theology. One is not surprised and yet one is grateful to find that our present author does not shrink from laying on the position at the outset that the Christian life "is life in union with God," but this involves an unusually frank consideration of the fact that in the consciousness of sin we have a universal obstacle to this union. To overcome sin is the first problem for every man who would enter into the Christian life. It is easy after this to enter upon the thesis that character is the condition of life. Character, of course, is taken in the broadest sense of the word, and the Christian character is unfolded with freshness and power. Especially valuable is the discussion of humility, in which it is pointed out that this has its root in our sense of dependence upon God. The central portion of the book deals with the sources of Christian character. These are found in faith and hope (Chapter IV) and love (Chapter V). The discussion in these two lectures is one of the richest in recent theological literature, and we warmly recommend every minister to fill his mind with every line of them. The surprise of the book consists for us in the discussion in Chapter VIII of the sacraments. Too many of us have passed so far out of the sacramentarian atmosphere that it seems like an outrage upon common sense to give them a place of such importance in a system of Christian ethics. This is done, however, because Dr. Illingworth's subject is "Christian Character" and because he believes most firmly that the sacraments have a profound influence in the development of individual character. All who hold anything more than the merely memorial view of the Lord's Supper and who believe that therein the grace of God does act upon the individual believer will welcome this chapter and, without going as far as Dr. Illingworth in some of his phrases, will yet acknowledge that he justifies his discussion in this place. Altogether this volume will be found by the working pastor full of suggestion for his own life and full of contribution to his pulpit work. (Macmillan, pp. viii, 206. $2.00 net.) W. D. M.

Dr. Minot J. Savage has the rare faculty of being always interesting, of almost invariably saying some things that are worth heeding, and of saying with almost as much regularity some things that one must reject with positiveness and sometimes with indignation. All these qualities appear in his last book on *Life's Dark Problems.* His fundamental thesis appears when he says (p. 67): "I believe that we have a right to trust faithfully the wisdom and love of God in the working of this perfectly ordered universe in which we have found ourselves, and that we have no right to pronounce judgment here until we are sure it is complete. Wait,

then, and judge when you know." His theology is a sort of evolutionary, paternalistic necessitarianism. Things have got to be as they are. We can imagine situations where they would be a good deal worse, and, the world being what it is, we can see God's love even in the dark places. In this spirit he approaches Pain, Life's Incompleteness, Moral Evil, Death, Accidents and Calamities, Mental Decay and Disease, in successive chapters. He says many helpful things, some very familiar, some more fresh. But the striking thing about the book is that in no way is Christ used as a key to the problem. In a Christian Theodicy one might reasonably expect that Christ would have at least a position of sufficient significance to secure a place in a quite full index. (Putnam, pp. 219. $1.35 net.) A. L. G.

Five lectures on preaching, delivered at Bangor Seminary on the Shepard Foundation last year, entitled *The Minister as Prophet,* by Dr. C. E. Jefferson. The titles are The Dimension of the Book, The Three Men Involved, The Growing of Sermons, Form and Manner, The Place of Dogma in Preaching. This work has great interest not only because of its homiletic suggestiveness, and its literary quality, but because of its unconscious autobiographical character. Men will read it to get some idea of the elements which make it possible for such a busy man as Dr. Jefferson to accomplish his great outside work, and yet to maintain such a uniformly high quality in his pulpit work. His five lectures disclose to us, first, that he has a clearly balanced estimate of the great demands upon the minister, but he never loses sight of the primacy of preaching; second, that he has learned how to coördinate the "three men" involved, body, mind, and spirit, and has discovered how to put into the content of "spirit" certain ethical concepts and practical moral qualities not always associated with the Spirit's work upon the preacher; third, that "making" or "getting up" a sermon is utterly mechanical without the harder but more unconscious process of "growing" a sermon. Hard work has not a more stirring chapter written about it than this third lecture discloses, but the secret is here: "You can never work too much on yourself, but to work too much on your sermons is dangerous and easy;" fourth, that the clarity, unaffectedness, self-control, and naturalness of Dr. Jefferson's sermons, which seem so simple in their style and so clear in their matter that one thinks he could easily do the same (till he tries): that all these qualities are the fine fruits of a penetrating art and close attention to most exacting discipline; fifth, that Dr. Jefferson has learned the secret of vitalizing doctrine, and giving it a modern motive. This has been evident in his notable volumes "Doctrine and Deed" and "Things Fundamental"; two books which have had a wider reading than any recent volumes of sermons, and which have shown the possibility of doctrinal preaching in our day. Dr. Jefferson's last lecture gives the inner springs of such sermons. No clearer and bolder demand for the place of doctrine in vital preaching has been uttered in many a day. The book will hold its place alongside of the "Yale Lectures on Preaching." It is full of rememberable things: pithy, pointed, epigrammatic, sensible, fresh. The volume is a small one, but it condenses the substance of many larger volumes: because Dr. Jef-

ferson never uses conventional padding, and has the highest power of compact, clear and forceful statement. (Crowell, pp. 187. 90 cts. net.)

A. R. M.

The author of this book has brought together addresses delivered in England and America bearing upon the general topic of *The Soul-winning Church.* The addresses take the sermonic form, and are faithful textual discourses, earnest and Biblical in tone, rather conventional in thought and treatment, not strikingly fresh, nor containing much that has not been said before. But they are stimulating and persuasive, and call to mind with fresh earnestness many great duties which the church in our day is neglecting. The illustrative matter of the discourses is taken largely from the preacher's own experience in dealing with Christian workers and in conversation with men in the inquiry room. The author is Rev. L. G. Broughton, D.D. (Revell, pp. 126. 50 cts. net.) A. R. M.

Dr. W. J. Dawson has held so large a place in the public interest of late that his volume *The Evangelistic Note* will be very welcome. It is not a treatise upon Revivals, nor an elaborate discussion of the "New Evangelism." The book is a volume of sermons: chiefly those he has delivered in America, and especially those given at Plymouth Church. One on "Self-reservation" was given at Yale University. The opening essay which gives title to the book is of especial interest, not only because of the discussion contained, but because it puts into permanent form the story of his own recent history in connection with his London church — a story which made so deep an impression here and elsewhere when first told. In this essay he also gives the grounds upon which he bases his appeal to pastors to strike this note, and shows them how a simpler style of address, a more direct appeal, and a more unrestrained fervour are the simple means of effecting the needed change of method. He also elaborates his reasons why the church rather than a hall or theater should be the place for such evangelistic work. He pleads for the intellectual note in evangelistic preaching which may subsist with a warm appeal, a direct aim, and positive and authoritative conviction. We are struck in reading his sermons, which occupy most of the volume, that his demand for simple preaching does not mean any lowering of the high mental qualities which all good preaching must have, nor does he abandon a fine literary form. He is evidently a man of letters in the best sense. He does not suppress his scholarship nor his evident interest in general literature: but they are never obtrusive, and always subserve a direct, simple end of lodging the theme. In nearly every case he gives hostages for directness by announcing his theme at the very beginning of his sermon, often before he gives out his text. He wastes less in his introductions than any preacher we have read in a long time. What is especially noteworthy in these sermons is that they are not in any sense what we ordinarily associate with evangelistic preaching. That is, they are not mere appeals to immediate decision for the pressing matter of conversion, but that appeal is all through the sermon; and winning men to Christ is the pervasive intent of all that is said. Many of his themes are experiential, as "Sons of the Taber-

nacle," "The Courage to Forget," "The Seasons of the Soul," "Self-reservation," "Christ among the Common Things of Life": such themes as we see very often in modern books of sermons, not accounted evangelistic. Or he takes a social theme like "The Social Significance of Christian Love," "Our Duty to the Bystander," or a poetic theme "The Ministry of Night." The only topics which sound conventially evangelistic are "God Waiting Man's Answer," "The Last Step," "To the Uttermost," "Saving Faith." It is the theme and the treatment which suggest the point which Dr. Dawson is making that any pastor who will may give the evangelistic note to almost any theme of the pulpit. This volume of sermons does not differ essentially from the best sermons published in our day, excepting in that indescribable element missing in many, otherwise just like them: that note of direct earnest yearning appeal which transforms the social essay or the experiential disquisition into an Evangel message, winning the emotions and commanding the will to the obedience of Christ. If this is the New Evangelism, its message is: Be a new man yourself, preacher, in the constraining spirit and vital motive for the matter of your message, rather than seek an entirely new method of preaching, known only to men who are not habitually pastors of the parish Christ has entrusted to your care. (Revell Co., pp. 282. $1.25.) A. R. M.

Sermons noted for their almost perfect clarity: a clarity aided by the most painstaking divisions and subdivisions, and use of enumeration. We have had occasion to review no volume of sermons of late years so conspicuously and helpfully using this older method — so notably missing in most modern preaching — as *Elims of Life*. This method is heightened by the extreme fidelity to the textual content of the passage discussed. This an admirable quality and evident at a glance, because so unusual. But the preacher in this laudable effort tends to fall into the mechanism of an earlier day by using a mannerism which pervades nearly every sermon, expressed in such language as this: "Let me speak about," "Let me say a few words," "Let me ask you to notice," "Let me draw your attention," "Let me give you two or three illustrations," "Let us consider for a few minutes further," etc., etc. Such expressions so frequently occurring in his transitions give a weak and apologetic tone to his otherwise strong and luminous thought. This is a volume of sermons of exceptional value, by Rev. J. D. Jones, a preacher well known in England. Their excellence lies in the rich content of thought rather than in the quality of their style, in the full and clear message rather than in its enrichment. There is not quite enough lift in the wings of these sermons to carry the full body of their material. The first analysis of thought would be helped by ampler concreting through more illustration. But as they are, the sermons are of unusual excellence and rank the author high among contemporary preachers. Elims of Life by Rev. J. D. Jones of Bournesmouth. Revell, pp. ers. (Revell, pp. 256. $1.00.) A. R. M.

# ALUMNI REGISTER.

*Corrected to July* 1, 1905.

[The year of graduation follows the name. In the case of those who did not complete their course at Hartford, the year of the class to which they belonged is given in parenthesis. Those not ordained to the ministry are marked with a dagger †. When no denomination is mentioned, Congregational may generally be understood.]

| | |
|---|---|
| Harry A. G. Abbe 1900 | Pastor, |
| Iso Abé 1894 | Pastor, Tokyo, Japan |
| Solomon T. Achenbach (1905) | Pastor, Sherburne, Vt. |
| Haig Adadourian 1893 | Pastor, West Tisbury, Mass. |
| George D. Adams 1880 | Rector (P. E.), Riverside, Ill. |
| Harry C. Adams 1889 | Pastor, Danvers Center, Mass. |
| Myron W. Adams 1884 | Treasurer, Atlanta Univ., Atlanta, Ga. |
| James B. Adkins (1888) | Pastor, Belchertown, Mass. |
| Frederick H. Allen 1873 | 2191 Broadway, New York City |
| John B. Allen 1843 | |
| Henry C. Alvord 1879 | Pastor, South Weymouth, Mass. |
| Mardiros H. Ananikian 1901 | Asst. Librarian, H. T. S., Hartford, Conn. |
| George W. Andrews 1882 | Pastor, Dalton, Mass. |
| Thomas L. Angell† (1866) | Professor, Bates Coll., Lewiston, Me. |
| Leon H. Austin 1901 | Pastor, Quincy Point, Mass. |
| Eugene E. Ayres (1892) | Pastor (Bapt.), Chester, Pa. |
| Vahan S. Babasinian 1900 | |
| Gilbert H. Bacheler 1897 | Pastor, Buckingham, Conn. |
| Samuel F. Bacon 1850 | 2527 N. 33d St., Philadelphia, Pa. |
| William A. Bacon 1895 | England |
| Henry L. Bailey 1889 | Pastor, Longmeadow, Mass. |
| Robert H. Ball 1889 | Pastor, Fairhaven, Vt. |
| Henry L. Ballou 1895 | Pastor, Chester, Vt. |
| William J. Ballou 1900 | Pastor, Hudson, N. H. |
| Clarence H. Barber 1880 | Pastor, Danielson, Conn. |
| Luther H. Barber 1842 | Ellington, Conn. |
| Herbert A. Barker 1901 | Pastor, Jamaica Plain, Mass. |
| Stephen G. Barnes 1892 | Pastor, St. Johnsbury, Vt. |
| S. Allen Barrett 1887 | Pastor, Florence, Mass. |
| John O. Barrows (1863) | Pastor, Stonington, Conn. |

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|---|---|
| John Barstow (1887) | Pastor, Manchester, Vt. |
| Edward N. Bartlett† (1869) | Amsterdam, N. Y. |
| Lyman Bartlett 1861 | Missionary, Smyrna, Turkey |
| William A. Bartlett 1885 | Pastor, Chicago, Ill. |
| James L. Barton 1885 | Secretary, A. B. C. F. M., Boston, Mass. |
| Robert J. Barton (1889) | Pastor, Greensboro, Vt. |
| G. Sumner Baskervill 1882 | Teacher, Farm School, N. C. |
| Austin B. Bassett (1887) | Secretary, H. T. S., Hartford, Conn. |
| Harry A. Beadle 1898 | Pastor, Franklin, Conn. |
| William L. Beard 1894 | Missionary, Foochow, China |
| Clark S. Beardslee 1879 | Professor, H. T. S., Hartford, Conn. |
| Florence E. Bell† 1904 | (Mrs. Gilbert Lovell), Missionary (Pres.), Peking, China |
| Thomas J. Bell 1894 | New York City |
| Irving H. Berg 1904 | Pastor (D. Ref.), Watervliet, N. Y. |
| Thomas L. Bickel (1898) | Pastor (Ger. Ref.), Philadelphia, Pa. |
| John M. Bieler 1901 | Pastor, Eastport, Me. |
| Edward N. Billings 1895 | Chepachet, R. I. |
| Alfred H. Birch 1900 | |
| Thomas D. Biscoe† (1866) | Professor, Marietta Col., Marietta, O. |
| Edwin W. Bishop 1897 | Pastor, Concord, N. H. |
| Charles H. Bissell 1861 | Florence, Col. |
| Harry G. Bissell 1892 | Missionary, Ahmednagar, India |
| Oscar Bissell 1853 | Holland, Mass. |
| William F. Bissell 1902 | Warren, Vt. |
| Walter R. Blackmer 1900 | Pastor, Twinsburg, O. |
| Arthur W. Blair† (1876) | Physician, 138 Norfolk St., Dorchester, Mass. |
| James A. Blaisdell 1892 | Professor, Beloit Coll., Beloit, Wis. |
| George H. Blake 1863 | Manufacturer, Portland, Me. |
| Charles B. Bliss 1903 | Pastor, Hampden, Mass. |
| J. Henry Bliss 1869 | Pastor, Webster, N. H. |
| William D. P. Bliss 1882 | Rector (P. E.), Amityville, N. Y. |
| John R. Boardman 1898 | Secretary, Y. M. C. A., New York City |
| Joseph C. Bodwell 1871 | Pastor, Machiasport, Me. |
| William W. Bolt 1898 | Pastor, Lawrence, Kan. |
| Albert Booth (1855) | 138 Laurel Ave., Bridgeport, Conn. |
| Harold G. Booth 1904 | Pastor, Vassalboro, Me. |
| Homer W. Brainard† (1892) | Teacher, High Sch., Hartford, Conn. |

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|---|---|
| Charles A. Brand 1898 | Editor, C. S. S. & Pub. Soc., Boston, Mass. |
| Frank S. Brewer 1894 | Pastor, New Hartford, Conn. |
| Howard A. Bridgman (1887) | Editor, *Congregationalist,* Boston, Mass. |
| Frank L. Bristol (1875) | Pastor, Candor, N. Y. |
| Theron Brown (1859) | Editor, *Youth's Companion,* Boston, Mass. |
| Fred M. Buker (1906) | Pastor, (M. E.), North Stirling, Conn. |
| Alice S. Browne 1903 | Missionary, Tungcho, China |
| Irving A. Burnap 1892 | Pastor, Broad Brook, Conn. |
| Edward A. Burnham 1900 | Pastor, Syracuse, N. Y. |
| Normand H. Burnham (1877) | Rector (P. E.), Thompsonville, Conn. |
| Hanford M. Burr 1888 | Teacher, Springfield, Mass. |
| Grace Burroughs† 1899 | (Mrs. Wm. A. Mather), Missionary (Pres.), Peking, China |
| Reginald V. Bury (1893) | |
| Jesse Buswell 1898 | Glenwood, Minn. |
| Stephen G. Butcher (1898) | Pastor, Rapid City, S. D. |
| Edward P. Butler 1873 | Pastor, Sunderland, Mass. |
| Frank E. Butler 1887 | Pastor, South Hadley Falls, Mass. |
| Claude A. Butterfield 1904 | Pastor, Ludlow, Mass. |
| Edwin H. Byington (1887) | Pastor, Beverly, Mass. |
| Donald P. Cameron 1898 | Business, 71 Broadway, New York City |
| Hollis A. Campbell 1886 | Ansonia, Conn. |
| Edward W. Capen 1898 | Editor, A. B. C. F. M., Boston, Mass. |
| Herbert E. Carleton 1894 | Teacher, St. Louis Park, Minn. |
| Israel Carleton 1863 | Lebanon, Ore. |
| Marcus M. Carleton 1854 | Missionary (Pres.), Kulloo, India |
| Augustus S. Carrier 1884 | Professor, McCormick Theol. Sem., Chicago, Ill. |
| Clark Carter 1867 | Andover, Mass. |
| Herbert E. B. Case 1904 | Missionary, Aguaña, Guam |
| Franklin M. Chapin 1880 | Missionary, Lin-Ching, China |
| Edward A. Chase 1883 | Pastor, Wollaston, Mass. |
| Samuel A. Chase 1899 | 9 Cedar St., Chicago, Ill. |
| Irving H. Childs 1903 | Pastor, Benson, Vt. |

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|---|---|
| Abel S. Clark† 1870 | Teacher, School for the Deaf, Hartford, Conn. |
| Albert W. Clark 1868 | Missionary, Prague, Austria |
| Clara M. Clark† (1901) | 321 W. 45th St., New York City |
| Daniel J. Clark 1880 | Pastor, East Haven, Conn. |
| Daniel W. Clark (1882) | Ashland, Mass. |
| Gideon C. Clark 1847 | Robbins, Tenn. |
| Hollis S. Clark (1862) | |
| James S. Clark 1904 | Pastor, Hardwick, Vt. |
| William P. Clarke 1891 | Missionary, Monastir, Macedonia |
| Willis M. Cleaveland 1891 | |
| Arthur Clements 1905 | Pastor, Southfield, Mass. |
| Wallace I. Coburn (1885) | Pastor, Paola, Kan. |
| William B. Colburn (1853) | |
| Z. Wesley Commerford (1900) | Pastor (Pres.) Prineville, Ore. |
| Onslow W. Comstock† (1902) | 7 Lynn St., Chelsea, Mass. |
| Harry E. Coombs 1903 | Pastor (Pres.), Peru, N. Y. |
| Philip D. Corey† 1869 | |
| L. Rebecca Corwin† 1893 | Chicago, Ill. |
| Lyndon S. Crawford 1879 | Missionary, Trebizond, Turkey |
| Edwin G. Crowdis 1902 | Pastor, Menasha, Wis. |
| George H. Cummings 1886 | Pastor, Danville, Vt. |
| Albert M. Curry† (1875) | Physician, 493 Classon Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. |
| Charles H. Curtis 1886 | Pastor, Rochester, Minn. |
| Ethan Curtis (1868) | Pastor, Olean, N. Y. |
| George Curtiss (1863) | Kent, Conn. |
| Gilbert A. Curtiss 1877 | Mitteneague, Mass. |
| Payson L. Curtiss 1900 | Pastor, Webster, S. D. |
| George B. Cutler 1882 | Ware, Mass. |
| Pierre S. Dagnault 1863 | |
| William N. P. Dailey 1887 | Pastor (D. Ref.), Amsterdam, N. Y. |
| Malcolm Dana 1901 | Pastor, Maquoketa, Ia. |
| Llewellyn J. Davies 1892 | Missionary (Pres.), Tsing-tau, China |
| Charles H. Davis 1901 | Pastor, Somersville, Conn. |
| J. Merle Davis 1904 | Secretary, Y. M. C. A., Nagasaki |
| Marin D. Delchoff† (1887) | |
| Vernon H. Deming 1898 | Pastor, North Wilbraham, Mass. |
| Christakes A. Derebey (1886) | Chicago, Ill. |
| Jules A. Derome 1888 | Pastor, Valley Springs, S. D. |

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|---|---|
| Alphonse De Salvio† (1902) | Professor, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. |
| Frank Diehl (1903) | |
| Samuel W. Dike (1866) | Secretary, League for the Home, Auburndale, Mass. |
| Samuel R. Dimock (1850) | Denver, Col. |
| George S. Dodge 1872 | Pastor, Boylston Center, Mass. |
| Rowland B. Dodge 1905 | Pastor, Hawaiian Islands |
| Charles A. Downs 1900 | Pastor, Hudson, S. D. |
| Roger A. Dunlap 1903 | Pastor, Paterson, N. J. |
| Harry S. Dunning 1896 | Pastor (Pres.), Corry, Pa. |
| Morton D. Dunning 1899 | Professor, Doshisha, Kyoto, Japan |
| Charles H. Dutton (1891) | Pastor, Newhaven, Vt. |
| Almon J. Dyer 1886 | Pastor, Sharon, Mass. |
| Edward O. Dyer (1881) | Pastor, Sharon, Conn. |
| Charles O. Eames 1897 | Pastor, Rochester, N. Y. |
| Henry K. Edson (1853) | Professor, Iowa Coll., Grinnell, Ia. |
| Myron Eells 1871 | Pastor, Twana, Wash. |
| Thomas J. Elliott 1904 | Pastor (Pres.), Noroton, Conn. |
| Richard S. M. Emrich 1904 | Missionary, Mardin, Turkey |
| William F. English 1885 | Pastor, East Windsor, Conn. |
| William A. Esterbrook 1893 | Pastor, Amherst, Mass. |
| George S. Fairbanks† (1905) | Business |
| Paul D. Fairchild† 1900 | 554 W. 124th St., New York City |
| Allan C. Ferrin 1896 | Pastor, Springfield, Vt. |
| Aaron W. Field 1870 | Pastor, Gilsum, N. H. |
| Henry M. Field 1841 | Stockbridge, Mass. |
| Charles R. Fisher 1902 | Secretary, San Francisco, Cal. |
| Herman P. Fisher 1883 | Crookston, Minn. |
| G. Walter Fiske 1898 | Pastor, Auburn, Me. |
| Samuel A. Fiske 1900 | Pastor, Georgetown, Conn. |
| Edward T. Fleming (1891) | Chicago, Ill. |
| George C. Flett (1899) | Pastor (Pres.), Farmingdale, Ill. |
| Samuel B. Forbes 1857 | Hartford, Conn. |
| Annie J. Forehand† 1895 | Teacher, 52 Berkeley St., Boston, Mass. |
| Gilbert L. Forté 1905 | Pastor, South Britain, Conn. |
| Everett D. Francis 1895 | Springfield, Mass. |
| Milton N. Frantz 1896 | 7121 Boyer St., Philadelphia, Pa. |
| James Leslie French 1902 | Pastor (Pres.), Ann Arbor, Mich. |

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| Montie J. B. Fuller 1902 | Pastor, Crown Point, N. Y. |
| Albert C. Fulton 1900 | Pastor, Kennebunk, Me. |
| Robert N. Fulton 1903 | Pastor, Littleton, Mass. |
| William F. Furman 1883 | Pastor (Unit.), Wilton, N. H. |
| | |
| Clarence R. Gale 1885 | Superintendent, Seattle, Wash. |
| Tyler E. Gale 1903 | Pastor, Greenville, N. H. |
| Howard S. Galt 1899 | Missionary, Tung-cho, China |
| James L. Gamble (1874) | |
| John Garabedian (1889) | Pastor, New York City |
| Austin Gardner 1860 | Pastor, Willington, Conn. |
| William Gardner (1887) | Pastor, Windsor, Wis. |
| John P. Garfield 1902 | Pastor, Enfield, Conn. |
| Edward D. Gaylord 1902 | Pastor, Syracuse, N. Y. |
| J. Howard Gaylord 1899 | Pastor, West Brookfield, Mass. |
| Curtis M. Geer 1890 | Professor, H. T. S., Hartford, Conn. |
| Willis L. Gelston 1905 | |
| William A. George 1887 | Pastor (Pres.), Brooklyn, N. Y. |
| Arthur L. Gillett 1883 | Professor, H. T. S., Hartford, Conn. |
| Edwin C. Gillette 1897 | Pastor, Canaan, Conn. |
| Hannah J. Gilson† 1893 | Missionary, Melsetter, East Africa |
| Dwight Goddard 1894 | Lancaster, Mass. |
| Louis A. Goddard 1901 | Pastor, Redding, Conn. |
| Arthur L. Golder 1891 | Pastor, Presque Isle, Me. |
| John H. Goodell 1874 | Pastor, Pacific Grove, Cal. |
| Giles F. Goodenough 1896 | Pastor, Torringford, Conn. |
| Fred F. Goodsell 1905 | |
| Edwin S. Gould 1872 | Providence, R. I. |
| Frederick H. Graeper 1903 | Pastor (Ger. Ev.), Wooster, O. |
| Mertie L. Graham† 1896 | (Mrs. E. O. Grover), Highland Park, Ill. |
| Frank K. Graves (1897) | |
| Charles S. Gray 1904 | Pastor (Union), Wilson, Conn. |
| Elijah W. Greene 1885 | Mitchell, S. D. |
| Frederick W. Greene 1885 | Pastor, Middletown, Conn. |
| Frank J. Grimes 1874 | South Hadley, Mass. |
| Edward O. Grisbrook 1904 | Pastor, Poquonock, Conn. |
| | |
| Charles T. Hall (1906) | Middletown, Conn. |
| George A. Hall 1885 | Pastor, Peabody, Mass. |
| James E. Hall 1866 | Rector (P. E.), Granville, N. Y. |

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| Ransom B. Hall 1898 | Pastor, Hiteman, Ia. |
| Leavitt H. Hallock 1866 | Pastor, Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Benjamin F. Hamilton (1864) | Roxbury, Mass. |
| Charles W. Hanna (1878) | Pastor, East Canaan, Conn. |
| Edwin N. Hardy 1890 | Pastor, Quincy, Mass. |
| Millard F. Hardy 1878 | Pastor, East Jaffrey, N. H. |
| William P. Hardy (1890) | Pastor, Sherman, Cal. |
| Elijah Harmon 1867 | South Braintree, Mass. |
| Henry E. Hart 1863 | West Hartford, Conn. |
| Charles S. Hartwell† (1881) | Principal, Boys' High Sch., Brooklyn, N. Y. |
| Jasper P. Harvey 1880 | Pastor, Columbia, Conn. |
| Ezra Haskell 1859 | |
| David P. Hatch 1886 | Pastor, Franklin, N. H. |
| Franklin S. Hatch 1876 | Newton, Mass. |
| George B. Hatch (1885) | Pastor, Three Oaks, Mich. |
| Albert S. Hawkes 1900 | Pastor, Amethyst, Col. |
| George B. Hawkes 1902 | Pastor, McCook, Neb. |
| Winfield S. Hawkes 1868 | Caldwell, Ida. |
| Henry K. Hawley (1901) | Pastor, Cooperstown, N. D. |
| John A. Hawley 1898 | Pastor, Shelburne Falls, Mass. |
| Edward A. Hazeltine 1879 | Pastor, Rushville, N. Y. |
| Austin Hazen 1893 | Pastor, Thomaston, Conn. |
| Azel W. Hazen (1868) | Pastor, Middletown, Conn. |
| Carleton Hazen 1891 | Pastor, Portland, Conn. |
| Frank W. Hazen 1897 | Pastor, Meriden, Conn. |
| William Hazen 1897 | Missionary, Sholapur, India |
| Ivory H. B. Headley (1878) | Chaplain, U. S. A. |
| Phineas C. Headley, Jr.† 1886 | Business, New Bedford, Mass. |
| Samuel S. Heghin 1898 | Pastor, Gettysburg, S. D. |
| Robert P. Herrick 1883 | Superintendent, Minneapolis, Minn. |
| George R. Hewitt 1886 | Pastor, West Medway, Mass. |
| Lewis W. Hicks 1874 | Wellesley, Mass. |
| Fred B. Hill 1903 | |
| Kihachi Hirayama 1904 | Army Y. M. C. A., Manchuria |
| L. Potter Hitchcock 1892 | Pastor, Alameda, Cal. |
| John H. Hobbs 1885 | Pastor (Pres.), Jamaica, N. Y. |
| Joseph M. Hobbs 1886 | Rector (P. E.), Providence, R. I. |
| Thomas M. Hodgdon 1888 | Pastor, West Hartford, Conn. |
| Alpheus C. Hodges 1881 | Pastor, Canaan Four Corners, N. Y. |
| Lewis Hodous 1900 | Missionary, Foochow, China |

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|---|---|
| Frederick A. Holden 1883 | Pastor, Shelton, Conn, |
| Abram J. Holland (1903) | Curate (P. E.), Parkville, Conn. |
| Frederic M. Hollister 1891 | Pastor, Cromwell, Conn. |
| Alice M. Holmes† 1899 | |
| Henry Holmes 1892 | Pastor, Minneapolis, Minn. |
| James E. Holmes (1888) | |
| Charles H. Hosford† (1889) | |
| William H. Hotze (1901) | Pastor, Independence, Ia. |
| Anson B. Howard (1899) | Pastor (Fr. Bap.), South Danville, N. H. |
| John Howland 1882 | Missionary, Guadalajara, Mexico |
| David B. Hubbard 1872 | Pastor, Middletown, Conn. |
| George H. Hubbard 1884 | Pastor, Haverhill, Mass. |
| Peter J. Hudson 1890 | Teacher, Tushkahoma, I. T. |
| Edward S. Hume 1875 | Missionary, Bombay, India |
| Elizabeth N. Hume† 1903 | (Mrs. B. K. Hunsberger), Missionary, Byculla, India |
| Byron K. Hunsberger 1903 | Missionary, Byculla, India |
| A. Burtis Hunter (1879) | Principal, St. Augustine's Sch. (P. E.), Raleigh, N. C. |
| James Hunter (1891) | New London, Conn. |
| Pleasant Hunter, Jr. 1883 | Pastor (Pres.), New York City |
| Alva A. Hurd (1870) | Fulton, Ore. |
| John E. Hurlbut 1874 | Pastor, Wapping, Conn. |
| Walter P. Hutchinson (1892) | |
| Herbert C. Ide 1901 | Pastor, New Britain, Conn. |
| Theodor Irion 1901 | Pastor (Ger. Ev.), Oshkosh, Wis. |
| Frank E. Jenkins 1881 | Pastor, Atlanta, Ga. |
| Herbert K. Job 1891 | Pastor, Kent, Conn. |
| Philip A. Job 1903 | Pastor, North Falmouth, Mass. |
| Elmer E. S. Johnson 1902 | Pastor (Schw.), Philadelphia, Pa. |
| George E. Johnson† (1895) | Teacher, Lowell, Mass. |
| John Q. A. Johnson 1893 | |
| Louis H. Johnston (1906) | Pastor, Brooklyn, N. Y. |
| Clinton M. Jones 1865 | Pastor, West Woodstock, Conn. |
| Newton I. Jones (1881) | Pastor, Thompson, Conn. |
| Sumantrao V. Karmarkar (1892) | Missionary, Bombay, India |
| Edward P. Kelly 1896 | Pastor, Pigeon Cove, Mass. |

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|---|---|
| Joseph A. Kellogg (1869) | |
| Henry H. Kelsey 1879 | Pastor, Hartford, Conn. |
| Henry S. Kelsey (1859) | Business, Chicago, Ill. |
| William S. Kelsey 1883 | Pastor, Boston, Mass. |
| Daniel R. Kennedy, Jr. 1905 | Pastor, Needham, Mass. |
| Asher R. Kepler 1901 | Missionary (Pres.), Ning-po, China |
| Josiah Kidder (1880) | Pastor, Westford, Vt. |
| Charles W. Kilbon 1873 | Missionary, Amanzimtote, Natal |
| George L. W. Kilbon (1904) | Pastor, Letcher, S. D. |
| John L. Kilbon, Jr. 1889 | Pastor, Springfield, Mass. |
| Hines E. King 1901 | Pastor, Candor, N. C. |
| Henry Kingman 1887 | Pastor, Claremont, Cal. |
| George E. Kinney (1897) | Pastor, Lee, N. H. |
| George P. Knapp 1890 | Missionary, Harpoot, Turkey |
| Edward H. Knight 1880 | Professor, Sch. of Rel. Pedagogy, Hartford, Conn. |
| Fred T. Knight 1895 | Pastor, Northbridge, Mass. |
| Paul L. LaCour (1894) | Pastor, Jonesboro, Tenn. |
| Calvin Lane (1893) | Pastor, Newark, N. J. |
| Charles S. Lane 1884 | Pastor (Pres.), Mt. Vernon, N. Y. |
| Ernest R. Latham 1892 | Pastor, Alpena, Mich. |
| Ferdinand T. Lathe† (1875) | |
| Edward A. Lathrop 1895 | Pastor, Essex, Mass. |
| Floyd S. Leach (1906) | New Haven, Conn. |
| Ashley D. Leavitt 1903 | Pastor, Willimantic, Conn. |
| Edith W. Leavitt† 1900 | (Mrs. J. M. Trout), Dobb's Ferry, N. Y. |
| George W. Leavitt (1904) | Seattle, Wash. |
| Albert Lee (1872) | |
| George H. Lee 1884 | Pastor (Pres.), Batavia, O. |
| Graham Lee (1892) | Missionary (Pres.), Pyeng Yang, Korea |
| Clarence A. Lincoln 1905 | Pastor, Manchester, Mass. |
| William E. Lincoln 1866 | Painesville, O. |
| William E. Lingelbach (1899) | Professor, Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia, Pa. |
| Stephen T. Livingston 1891 | Fryeburg, Me. |
| William F. Livingston 1887 | Rector (P. E.), Augusta, Me. |
| Addie I. Locke† 1895 | Professor, Wellesley Coll., Wellesley, Mass. |

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|---|---|
| Frank A. Lombard 1899 | Dean, Doshisha, Kyoto, Japan |
| Charles H. Longfellow 1890 | Pasadena, Cal. |
| Alba L. P. Loomis (1863) | Pastor, Rochester, Wis. |
| Charles N. Lovell (1904) | Pastor, Southwick, Mass. |
| Gilbert Lovell 1903 | Missionary (Pres.), Peking, China |
| Romulus C. Loveridge (1880) | |
| Addison F. Lyman (1888) | |
| Frederick B. Lyman 1900 | Pastor, Fair Haven, Mass. |
| Henry M. Lyman (1888) | Pastor, Chula Vista, Cal. |
| James A. Lytle 1899 | Pastor, Ashland, Mass. |
| | |
| Charles A. Mack 1884 | Pastor, Dwight, N. D. |
| Herbert Macy 1883 | Pastor, Newington, Conn. |
| Charles Maehl† (1875) | |
| F. Barrows Makepeace 1873 | Pastor, New York City |
| Charles L. Mann† (1881) | Physician, |
| Augustine P. Manwell 1900 | Pastor, Canton, Mass. |
| Jacob W. Marcusson 1854 | Pastor (Pres.), La Grange, Ill. |
| Burton E. Marsh 1901 | Pastor, Sloan, Ia. |
| John L. Marshall, Jr. (1900) | Evangelist, Lincoln, Neb. |
| John Marsland 1876 | Franklin, N. Y. |
| Henry B. Mason 1892 | Pastor, Duxbury, Mass. |
| William A. Mather 1899 | Missionary (Pres.), Peking, China |
| S. Sherburne Mathews (1871) | |
| Lazarus K. Mavromates 1902 | Chicago, Ill. |
| Charles H. Maxwell 1903 | Missionary, Adams, Durban, Natal |
| Samuel R. McCarthy (1905) | |
| George M. McClellan 1891 | Teacher, Lexington, Ky. |
| William D. McFarland 1878 | 6834 Frankstown Ave., Pittsburg, Pa. |
| Martin H. Mead 1878 | Pastor (Pres.), Roswell, Ida. |
| Willis W. Mead 1884 | Pastor (Pres.), Phillips, Wis. |
| Oliver W. Means 1887 | Pastor, Springfield, Mass. |
| Royal L. Melendy (1905) | Newark, N. J. |
| Edward T. Merrell† (1889) | Editor, *Advance,* Chicago, Ill. |
| Charles W. Merriam (1901) | Pastor, Greenfield, Mass. |
| Frank N. Merriam 1891 | Pastor, Turner's Falls, Mass. |
| John E. Merrill 1896 | Missionary, Aintab, Turkey |
| Theodor J. Merten 1902 | Pastor (Ger. Ev.), Bolivar, O. |
| Howard C. Meserve 1902 | Pastor, Milford, Conn. |
| I. Curtis Meserve 1869 | Pastor, San Francisco, Cal. |
| William N. Meserve 1874 | |

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|---|---|
| Frank B. Meyer (1901) | Cleveland, O. |
| Thomas M. Miles (1869) | Pastor, Acton, Mass. |
| Catharine A. Miller† 1900 | |
| George A. Miller 1859 | Syracuse, N. Y. |
| Robert D. Miller 1852 | Malden, Mass. |
| Charles D. Milliken (1892) | Pastor, Waimea, Haw. Is. |
| Charles S. Mills (1885) | Pastor, St. Louis, Mo. |
| Frank V. Mills 1882 | Business, Hartford, Conn. |
| Herbert L. Mills 1903 | Pastor, Omaha, Neb. |
| Edward A. Mirick (1867) | Pastor, Biwabik, Minn. |
| Cleophas Monjeau (1867) | Business, Middletown, O. |
| John Montgomery 1884 | Pastor (Pres.), Englishtown, N. S. |
| Calvin B. Moody 1880 | Pastor, Bristol, Conn. |
| Lewis F. Morris (1869) | Rector (P. E.), Bethany, Conn. |
| George M. Morrison 1890 | Pastor, Villa Park, Cal. |
| Charles H. Morse 1883 | St. Johnsbury, Vt. |
| Joseph F. Morse† (1889) | Chicago, Ill. |
| Lilla F. Morse† 1902 | Instructor, Mt. Holyoke Coll., South Hadley, Mass. |
| Morris W. Morse 1890 | Pastor, Ritzville, Wash. |
| Vincent Moses 1871 | Natick, Mass. |
| Charles S. Nash 1883 | Professor, Pac. Theol. Sem., Berkeley, Cal. |
| Arthur F. Newell (1893) | Pastor, Sayville, N. Y. |
| Samuel A. Noon 1895 | Manilla, P. I. |
| Stephen A. Norton (1881) | Pastor, Natick, Mass. |
| Edward E. Nourse 1891 | Professor, H. T. S., Hartford, Conn. |
| John K. Nutting (1856) | Pastor, Baxter, Ia. |
| Wallace Nutting (1889) | Providence, R. I. |
| James E. Odlin 1884 | Pastor (Pres.), Waukegan, Ill. |
| Augustine D. Ohol† (1906) | New Haven, Conn. |
| Charles B. Olds 1899 | Missionary, Miyazaki, Japan |
| James A. Otis 1895 | Grand Junction, Mich. |
| Henry A. Ottman 1869 | Pastor, Richford, N. Y. |
| George W. Owen 1903 | Pastor, Lynn, Mass. |
| Julia F. Owen† 1902 | (Mrs. J. P. Garfield), Enfield, Conn. |
| Herbert L. Packard (1902) | Pastor, New Vineyard, Me. |
| William H. Parent (1891) | |
| Hubert E. Parker 1900 | Hillsboro, N. Mex. |

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|---|---|
| Benjamin Parsons 1854 | Seattle, Wash. |
| Henry M. Parsons 1854 | Toronto, Ont. |
| Martin K. Pasco (1869) | Evangelist, Berea, Ky. |
| H. Philip Patey† (1901) | Business, Boston, Mass. |
| Arthur H. Pearson (1880) | Oberlin, O. |
| Charles Pease (1896) | Pastor, Long Beach, Cal. |
| Edmund M. Pease (1860) | Claremont, Cal. |
| Edward C. Perkins† (1903) | Kingston, N. Y. |
| Henry M. Perkins 1872 | Pastor, Wolcott, Vt. |
| Henry P. Perkins (1882) | Missionary Physician, Pao-ting-fu, China |
| John R. Perkins† (1896) | Teacher, New Britain, Conn. |
| J. Newton Perrin, Jr. 1891 | Pastor, Sanbornton, N. H. |
| Alfred T. Perry 1885 | President, Marietta Coll., Marietta, O. |
| Laurence Perry (1891) | Pastor, Wayland, Mass. |
| Talmon C. Perry 1851 | La Prairie, Que. |
| Charles H. Pettibone 1882 | Pastor, Denver, Col. |
| Dryden W. Phelps (1884) | Pastor (Bapt.), New Haven, Conn. |
| Ellsworth W. Phillips 1891 | Pastor, Worcester, Mass. |
| Arthur H. Pingree 1898 | Pastor, Norwood, Mass. |
| Walter B. Pitkin† 1903 | Munich, Germany |
| Stephen C. Pixley 1855 | Missionary, Inanda, Natal |
| Frank C. Porter (1886) | Professor, Yale Divinity Sch., New Haven, Conn. |
| John S. Porter 1891 | Missionary, Prague, Austria |
| George H. Post 1896 | Pastor, Bon Air, Tenn. |
| Clayton J. Potter 1904 | Pastor, Lenox, Mass. |
| Lemuel S. Potwin (1859) | Professor, Wn. Res. Univ., Cleveland, O. |
| Harry P. Powers† 1886 | Business, Proctor, Vt. |
| Henry Powers 1860 | Business, New York City |
| Dwight M. Pratt 1880 | Pastor, Cincinnati, O. |
| Frederic A. Pratt 1843 | Mapleton, Minn. |
| Henry H. Pratt 1901 | Teacher, Wilton, N. H. |
| William C. Prentiss 1898 | Pastor, Newbury, Vt. |
| Thomas C. Price 1883 | Pastor, Iowa Falls, Ia. |
| William M. Proctor (1904) | Pastor, Spokane, Wash. |
| Irving T. Raab (1904) | Pastor (Pres.), |
| Dikran H. Rajebyan 1900 | Hadjin, Turkey |
| James E. Rawlins 1879 | Jersey City, N. J. |

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|---|---|
| Charles P. Redfield 1898 | Pastor, Kingston, R. I. |
| George W. Reed 1887 | Pastor, Fort Yates, N. D. |
| Emily A. Reeve† 1902 | Mills, Okla. |
| John H. Reid (1890) | Walden, N. Y. |
| B. Rush Rhees 1888 | President, Rochester Univ., Rochester, N. Y. |
| Winfred C. Rhoades 1897 | Pastor, Roxbury, Mass. |
| David P. Rice† (1898) | Rockland, Mass. |
| Thomas C. Richards 1890 | Pastor, West Torrington, Conn. |
| Ernest C. Richardson† 1883 | Librarian, Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J. |
| George C. Richmond 1898 | Rector (P. E.), New York City |
| Richard S. W. Roberts 1904 | Pastor (Fr. Bapt.), Worcester, Mass. |
| David C. Rogers† (1902) | Instructor, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass. |
| Helen W. Rogers† (1896) | (Mrs. A. K. Rogers), Alfred, N. Y. |
| William B. Ronald† (1903) | Hartford, Conn. |
| Henry M. Rood (1880) | Business, Portchester, N. Y. |
| Samuel Rose 1887 | Pastor, Reed's Ferry, N. H. |
| Frederick T. Rouse 1886 | Pastor, Appleton, Wis. |
| George M. Rowland 1886 | Missionary, Sapporo, Japan |
| Daniel S. Ruevsky† (1892) | Teacher and Printer, Sofia, Bulgaria |
| Pliny F. Sanborne 1844 | Elmira, N. Y. |
| Charles S. Sanders 1879 | Missionary, Aintab, Turkey |
| William H. Sanders 1880 | Missionary, Kamondongo, West Africa |
| Edward F. Sanderson 1899 | Pastor, Providence, R. I. |
| Lydia E. Sanderson† 1898 | (Mrs. E. W. Capen), Jamaica Plain, Mass. |
| Harootune H. Sargakanian 1893 | |
| James B. Sargent 1897 | Pastor, Lisbon, N. H. |
| Sumner H. Sargent 1901 | Pastor, Turner, Me. |
| George W. Savory (1882) | |
| Pandelis K. Savvas† 1890 | |
| Henry P. Schauffler 1898 | Pastor, Berlin, Conn. |
| Arsene B. Schmavonian 1899 | Pastor, Constantinople, Turkey |
| John N. Schuch 1901 | Pastor (Ger. Ev.), Big Springs, Mo. |
| Charles K. Scoon (1881) | Business, Geneva, N. Y. |
| Charles Scott 1852 | Reading, Mass. |
| Lewis R. Scudder† 1885 | Missionary Physician, Ranipettai, India |

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| William W. Scudder, Jr. 1885 | Superintendent, Seattle, Wash. |
| Warren B. Seabury 1903 | Missionary, Chang-sha, China |
| Joseph H. Selden (1881) | Pastor, Greenwich, Conn. |
| Roy W. Sellars† (1906) | Instructor, Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor, Mich. |
| Oramel S. Senter 1855 | Springfield, Mass. |
| Allen D. Severance† 1893 | Professor, Wn. Res. Univ., Cleveland, O. |
| Baba N. Shahbaz† 1899 | |
| Harry D. Sheldon (1890) | Pastor, Lorain, O. |
| Joseph B. Shepherd (1881) | Rector (P. E.), Portland, Me. |
| Peter B. Shiere 1873 | West Somerville, Mass. |
| Arley B. Show (1885) | Professor, Stanford Univ., Cal. |
| Alexander Siegenthaler 1902 | |
| Charles E. Simmons 1870 | Worcester, Mass. |
| Brevard D. Sinclair (1887) | Rector (P. E.), Sacramento, Cal. |
| Arthur F. Skeele (1881) | Pastor, Painesville, O. |
| Ezra A. Slack (1881) | Brookline, Mass. |
| Henry D. Sleeper 1891 | Professor, Smith Coll., Northampton, Mass. |
| William W. Sleeper 1881 | Pastor, Wellesley, Mass. |
| Charles H. Smith 1887 | Pastor, Barre, Mass. |
| Edward H. Smith 1901 | Missionary, Ing-hok, China |
| Jesse F. Smith 1899 | Missionary (Bapt.), Rangoon, Burma |
| William H. Smith 1879 | Aurora, Ill. |
| M. Porter Snell 1868 | Washington, D. C. |
| Everard W. Snow 1901 | Pastor, Beverly, Mass. |
| James A. Solandt (1894) | Pastor, Rutland, Mass. |
| Alpheus M. Spangler 1888 | Pastor, Mitteneague, Mass. |
| Leverett W. Spring 1866 | Professor, Williams Coll., Williamstown, Mass. |
| Irvin I. St. John (1861) | Pastor (Pres.), Salem, Ind. |
| Charles A. Stanley, Jr. (1904) | Missionary, Tientsin, China |
| Daniel Staver (1874) | Pastor, Forest Grove, Ore. |
| Charles M. Stearns† (1901) | Instructor, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass. |
| William F. Stearns 1886 | Pastor, Norfolk, Conn. |
| Luther M. Strayer 1903 | Pastor, Hartford, Vt. |
| Helen L. Street† (1905) | (Mrs. W. W. Ranney), Hartford, Conn. |
| Charles B. Strong 1876 | Harwinton, Conn. |

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|---|---|
| David H. Strong 1885 | Pastor, Williamstown, Vt. |
| Joseph D. Strong 1852 | Oakland, Cal. |
| J. Selden Strong 1894 | Pastor, Limington, Me. |
| William E. Strong 1885 | Pastor, Amherst, Mass. |
| Alfred L. Struthers 1890 | Pastor, Alfred, Me. |
| Frederick A. Sumner 1894 | Pastor, Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Herman F. Swartz 1895 | Pastor, East Cleveland, O. |
| Milo J. Sweet 1905 | Pastor, |
| George B. Swinnerton (1895) | Pastor (Pres.), Oneida, N. Y. |
| William H. Sybrandt 1879 | Pastor (Pres.), Troy, N. Y. |
| | |
| Telesphore Taisne 1902 | Pastor, Auburn, Me. |
| Elliott F. Talmadge 1900 | Pastor, Wauregan, Conn. |
| Tatsu Tanaka† 1905 | Tokyo, Japan |
| William J. Tate 1892 | Pastor, Higganum, Conn. |
| George E. Taylor 1880 | Pastor, Pierce, Neb. |
| Leonard B. Tenney (1878) | Pastor, Niantic, Conn. |
| Israel N. Terry 1875 | Pastor (Pres.), Utica, N. Y. |
| Elwood G. Tewksbury 1890 | Missionary, Tung-cho, China |
| Frederick D. Thayer 1901 | Pastor, Dudley, Mass. |
| Frank Thompson (1868) | Chaplain, Valparaiso, Chile |
| Arthur Titcomb 1888 | Pastor, Feeding Hills, Mass. |
| Ernest G. Toan 1902 | Teacher, Madison, Wis. |
| Isaac F. Tobey 1871 | |
| Charles K. Tracy 1904 | Missionary, Smyrna, Turkey |
| A. Ferdinand Travis 1897 | Pastor, Hopkinton, Mass. |
| Edward P. Treat 1900 | Pastor, Richmond, Vt. |
| Eugene B. TreFethren 1899 | Pastor, Hetland and Badger, S. D. |
| John M. Trout 1900 | Pastor (Pres.), Dobb's Ferry, N. Y. |
| Stephen van R. Trowbridge 1905 | Pastor's Assistant, Brooklyn, N. Y. |
| George C. Tsaras† | |
| William B. Tuthill 1897 | Pastor, East Hartford, Conn. |
| | |
| Jonathan K. Uchimura† (1890) | Tokyo, Japan |
| Rufus S. Underwood (1868) | Pastor, Springfield, Mass. |
| | |
| Nicholas Van der Pyl 1893 | Pastor, Marblehead, Mass. |
| James M. Van Deusen† (1900) | Springfield, Mass. |
| David E. Van Gieson 1891 | Brooklyn, N. Y. |
| | |
| Dana M. Walcott (1868) | Rutherford, N. J. |
| Philip C. Walcott 1904 | Pastor, Hartford, Conn. |

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|---|---|
| George B. Waldron 1887 | Little River, Fla. |
| Frederick H. Wales 1875 | Imperial, Cal. |
| Henry A. Wales (1867) | |
| William S. Walker 1891 | Newington, Conn. |
| Williston Walker† 1886 | Professor, Yale Divinity Sch., New Haven, Conn. |
| Jeremiah E. Walton (1856) | Rector (P. E.), Sturgis, Mich. |
| Franke A. Warfield 1870 | Pastor, Milford, Mass. |
| Lyman Warner (1857) | Salisbury, Conn. |
| Bertram A. Warren (1904) | Winnebago, Ill. |
| Franklin G. Webster 1886 | Pastor, De Ruyter, N. Y. |
| Charles F. Weeden 1887 | Pastor, Lynn, Mass. |
| Nathan H. Weeks† 1897 | Fairport, Ia. |
| Milo R. Weidman 1905 | Pastor, Long Pine, Neb. |
| Henry H. Wentworth (1892) | Pastor, Terre Haute, Ind. |
| William W. West (1889) | Pastor (Bapt.), Williamsport, Pa. |
| Edward F. Wheeler 1889 | Pastor, New Ulm, Minn. |
| Sheldon H. Wheeler (1875) | Long Beach, Cal. |
| Katrine Wheelock† 1904 | Instructor, Wellesley Coll., Wellesley, Mass. |
| Cyrus B. Whitcomb (1869) | Lawyer, 759 Gates Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. |
| William F. Whitcomb (1899) | Pastor, Surry, N. H. |
| Charles E. White 1900 | 86 Knox St., Lawrence, Mass. |
| George E. White (1887) | Missionary, Marsovan, Turkey |
| Isaac White (1879) | Los Angeles, Cal. |
| William F. White 1890 | Pastor, Hinsdale, N. H. |
| Lyman Whiting (1842) | Pastor, East Charlemont, Mass. |
| John W. Whittaker 1887 | Tuskegee, Ala. |
| Laura H. Wild 1896 | Professor, Doane Coll., Crete, Neb. |
| George A. Wilder 1880 | Missionary, Chikore, East Africa |
| John E. Wildey (1893) | Pastor (Pres.), Manchester, N. H. |
| William L. Wilkenson 1902 | Pastor (M. E.), Redstone, Pa. |
| Wallace W. Willard (1889) | Chicago, Ill. |
| Benjamin A. Williams 1898 | Pastor, Burton, O. |
| Harry T. Williams 1893 | Cleveland, O. |
| Mary L. Williams† 1901 | Burnside, Conn. |
| Josiah G. Willis 1873 | Pastor, Holland, Mass. |
| Gerhardt A. Wilson 1892 | Pastor (Pres.), Providence, R. I. |
| George W. Winch 1875 | Pastor, Holyoke, Mass. |
| Henry K. Wingate 1893 | Missionary, Cæsarea, Turkey |

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|---|---|
| Fred M. Wiswall 1889 | Newfane, N. H. |
| Oscar E. Wittlinger 1901 | Pastor (Ger. Ev.), Tonawanda, N. Y. |
| J. Ralph Woodcock (1902) | Pastor (Pres.), Philadelphia, Pa. |
| Edward Woodford (1837) | Lawrence, Mass. |
| Charles M. Woodman 1902 | Minister (Friends), Portland, Me. |
| William S. Woodruff (1875) | |
| Horace B. Woodworth 1861 | Professor, Grand Forks, N. D. |
| Edward S. Worcester 1901 | Pastor, Norwich, Conn. |
| Richard Wright 1890 | Pastor, Newburyport, Mass. |
| Newton G. Wright (1906) | Pastor (M. E.), Pleasant Valley, Conn. |
| Russell M. Wright (1845) | Castleton, Vt. |
| Ernest A. Yarrow 1904 | Missionary, Van, Turkey |
| Philip W. Yarrow 1899 | Pastor, St. Louis, Mo. |
| James C. Young† (1905) | North Shields, England |
| Henry J. Zercher 1879 | Kennewick, Wash. |
| Albin R. Zink 1902 | Pastor (Ger. Ev.), Le Roy, N. H. |

## GRADUATE AND SPECIAL STUDENTS

| | |
|---|---|
| George Adams G. 1893-4 | Pastor (M. E.), Bay Ridge, N. Y. |
| Garabad B. Adanalian G. 1904-5 | Hartford, Conn. |
| William J. Baker† S. 1891-2 | |
| Louis W. A. Bjorkman S. 1889-90 | |
| Frances M. Blatchford† S. 1897-8 | Chicago, Ill. |
| George C. Bliss G. 1896-7 | Pastor, Bristol, Me. |
| Helen E. Brown† S. 1901-3 | Hartford, Conn. |
| Collins G. Burnham S. 1888-91 | Pastor, Chicopee, Mass. |
| Mary S. Bushnell† S. 1904-5 | Hartford, Conn. |
| Helen B. Calder† S. 1899-1900 | Secretary, Woman's Board, Boston, Mass. |
| Helen C. Carswell† S. 1900-1 | |
| George L. Clarke S. 1899-1900 | Pastor, Wethersfield, Conn. |
| Fulton J. Coffin G. 1902-3 | Trinidad, West Indies |
| George A. Conibear G. 1903-4 | Pastor (Christian), Providence, R. I. |
| Harry A. Cotton 1893-4 | Editor, Iberia, Mo. |
| Henri Duberger S. 1889-91 | |
| David B. Eddy G. 1902-4 | Pastor (Pres.), East Orange, N. J. |
| Jacob Finger G. 1902-3 | Pastor (M. E.), Bakersfield, Vt. |

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|---|---|---|
| John P. Gavit | S. 1893-6 | |
| Mary A. Goodman† | S. 1896-8 | Hartford, Conn. |
| Armenag H. Haigazian† | G. 1895-6 | Teacher, Konia, Turkey |
| Parnak H. Iskenderian | S. 1896-7 | Bible House, Constantinople, Turkey |
| David R. James | G. 1892-3 | Manchester Road, Warrington, England |
| Owen Jenkins | G. 1886-7 | Pastor, West Williamsfield, O. |
| Harris L. Latham | G. 1901-2 | Missionary (Cumb. Pres.), Tsu, Ise, Japan |
| Marinda A. Locke† | S. 1893-4 | |
| Guiseppe Merlino | S. 1897-8 | Messina, Italy |
| Harry K. B. Ogle | G. 1902-3 | Rector (P. E.), Philadelphia, Pa. |
| J. O. August Ostrom | G. 1894-5 | Pastor, Montclair, N. J. |
| Edwin M. Pickop | S. 1889-92 | |
| Albert H. Plumb, Jr. | S. 1891-2 | Pastor, Gill, Mass. |
| Charlie C. Pratt | S. 1900-1 | |
| Jonathan W. Purcell | G. 1903-4 | Pastor (Pres.), |
| Mae L. Richards† | S. 1899-1900 | |
| Frederick B. Riggs† | S. 1889-90 | Santee Agency, Neb. |
| James H. Ross | G. 1903-4 | Editor, North Cambridge, Mass. |
| Robert Scott† | S. 1902-3 | Editor, *Homiletical Review*, Montclair, N. J. |
| Samuel Simpson | G. 1895-7 | Professor, H. T. S., Hartford, Conn. |
| John A. Spencer | G. 1901-2 | Pastor, Agra, Okla. |
| Value Stancheff | S. 1888-9 | |
| Alice B. Stebbins† | S. 1901-3 | (Mrs. Frank Wells), Perry, Okla. |
| Sugiyoshi Sugiyama | S. 1896-7 | |
| Walter P. Taylor | S. 1889-90 | Boston, Mass. |
| Grace H. Tewksbury† | S. 1889-90 | (Mrs. E. G. Tewksbury), Missionary, Tung-cho, China |
| Simon Tirtzian | G. 1886-7 | |
| Albert B. Todd | S. 1901-3 | Pastor (M. E.), Tariffville, Conn. |
| J. Spencer Voorhees | G. 1897-8 | Pastor, Adams, Mass. |
| David Wallace | S. 1896-7 | Pastor, Marlboro, N. H. |
| Arthur C. Williams† | S. 1900-4 | Hartford, Conn. |
| James A. Wood | S. 1894-6 | Pastor (M. E.), East Hampton, Conn. |
| Henry B. Woods | G. 1901-2 | Pastor (Bapt.), Dexter, Me. |